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THE

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The Anglo-Soviet Journal is the quarterly organ of the Society for Cultural Relations between the Peoples of the British Commonwealth and the USSR.

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ANCIENT KHOREZM

S. P. Tolstov's archæological expeditions in the Oxus basin

By William Watson

DURING the last fifteen years Soviet archæologists have done some of their most successful work in Soviet Central Asia, the region comprising the republics of Turkmenia, Uzbekistan, Tadjikistan and Kirghizia. In the middle and late thirties G. V. Grigoriev and A. Terenozhkin investigated ancient town settlements near Samarkand and Tashkent, and V. A. Shishkin worked on the western edge of the Bukhara oasis. At intervals from 1933 to 1946, including the war years, A. N. Bernshtam conducted his expeditions to south-east Kazakhstan and Kirghizia, and from 1937 to 1940 and again from 1945 to 1947 S. P. Tolstov was engaged on his survey of the ancient monuments of Turkmenia and Uzbekistan. In 1946 and 1947 A. Y. Yakubovsky worked in Tadjikistan (Sogdia). To give even a summary account of the results of this work would require much greater space than is available here, and without a great deal of background matter the historical significance of the new material would be hard to convey. Even less, so shortly after the publication of the principal discoveries, and lacking as we do much of the detailed published material, can we hope to evaluate the results with any finality. The present article is concerned with a single region and the work of one series of expeditions. By thus limiting the account it is possible to give a clearer idea of the trend of Soviet interpretation of the archaeological record and to give an impression of the local continuity of culture and sociological development to which Soviet theory rightly attaches such great importance. Khorezm is moreover of special interest to scholarship in this country, where the study of Central Asian antiquity, stimulated by the discoveries in north-west India and by the information and material collected by Sir Aurel Stein, has prospered since the beginning of the century.

The archæological investigation of Khorezm—the region around the delta and lower course of the Oxus—began in earnest in 1937, when Tolstov was invited to head an expedition of four seasons' duration on behalf of the Moscow division of the Institute of History of Material Culture, of the Academy of Sciences of the USSR. The particular problem which he was required to investigate archæologically was the rise of feudal culture and economy in Central Asia, a subject which had been hotly debated in Moscow before Tolstov was sent to put theory to the test of the spade. His equipment

included two light aeroplanes.

Prior to the Arab invasion of A.D. 712 the history of Khorezm is obscure, partly no doubt owing to the thoroughness with which these conquerors exterminated its lettered class. In the second half of the sixth century B.C. it became part of the empire of the Achaemenid dynasty of Persia. Khorezmians joined Darius in his attempt to invade Greece, and in the fifth century B.C. the country was still under Persian suzerainty. But by the fourth century B.C. it seems to have been independent, and it is not mentioned among the allies of Darius II in his struggle with Alexander. The Greek historian Arrian records that Pharasman, king of the Khorezmians, offered to help Alexander in a campaign against peoples lying to the north-east, the Kolchoi and the "Amazons"—an interesting anticipation of Khorezm's later political preoccupation with south-east Europe rather than the ancient states to the south.

In the Avesta, the sacred book of Zoroastrianism, there is only one mention of Khorezm, so that it is surprising to find it figuring frequently in later Zoroastrian tradition. Several Islamic historians locate in Khorezm the most important of the three sacred fires of the Zoroastrians. Tolstov gives strong arguments for the view that the region called Kangkha in the Avesta and Kang-chü by the Chinese annalists of the Han dynasties is virtually identical with Khorezm, and he thus explains the latter's absence from a long passage of the historical record. The surviving works of Islamic historians (chiefly Al-Biruni and Al-Makdisi) tell us little of Khorezm beyond its populousness, its commercial importance, the existence of its powerful and independent dynasts in the pre-Islamic period, and the imposing might of its castles and forts thickly strewn along both banks of the Oxus. It is the ruins of these buildings, some standing almost to their original height, some of quite stupendous dimensions, now mostly located in sandy waterless desert, that are the archæologist's chief goal. But the earliest sites investigated by Tolstov take us back well beyond the period of the oldest of these structures.

The history of Khorezm is closely linked with variations in the distribution of water. In the early period these variations were the result of climatic changes (experienced all over Europe, and ultimately connected with the final retreat of the glaciers of the Pleistocene 'ice-age') and the consequent changes in the level of the Aral sea. Later, after the formation of the Khorezmian state, the water supply varied with the vicissitudes of the extensive irrigation system.

The 1937-1940 expedition was primarily concerned with the "area of ancient irrigation" (that is, where ancient canals and ditches, now dry, can be traced) lying in a broad triangle on the right bank of the lower Oxus. It was in this region that the earliest remains were discovered; the main interest of these is the independence they show from the neolithic cultures which begin the cultural sequence in the lands lying to the south and south-west, Mesopotamia and the Persian plateau. This so-called Kelteminar culture, known mainly from a site named Djanbas 4, is believed to date from the end of the fourth or the beginning of the third millennium B.C. At this time the area to the south and south-east of the Sultan-Uiz mountains appears to have been well watered and even marshy. The hunters and fishermen who settled at Djanbas 4 are classed as neolithic on account of their pottery and polished stone axes, but there are no signs that they knew anything of agriculture or stock-raising. They used flint to make small blades and single-barbed arrowpoints of microlithic type, larger implements pressure-flaked on both surfaces, and they made polished stone axes of trapezoid shape. Their coarse red-burned pots had round or pointed bottoms and were decorated with incised or impressed geometric patterns, mostly zigzags or herringbone, sometimes executed with a fine-toothed comb. A characteristic form was a boat-shaped dish with the mouth in an egg-shaped oval. There was also a minority of pottery which combined stamped ornament with painting in red, reflecting-Tolstov believes-the influence of the neolithic culture represented in the early levels of the tepe site of Anau in Turkestan, explored by R. Pumpelly in 1908.

At Djanbas 4 a hut measuring seventeen metres by twenty-four, built of reeds and rushes, had been destroyed by fire and so was well preserved for the excavator. A narrow entrance lined with a double row of posts led to a single central hearth. The roof—which, on the analogy of modern primitive architecture, was probably eccentric-conical in shape and built of rafters—seems to have been raised on a system of posts set in a low wall. The finds made in the hut included ornaments of shell and bone, the bones of fish, boar, deer and fowl. The completeness of the picture thus afforded is unique

for this early period in Central Asia. The cultural affinities for the greater part lead east, north and west into the heart of Asia. The exceptions are the painted pottery resembling that of Anau, and some pieces of shell (dentalium) which can only have been traded from the Indian Ocean or the Persian Gulf.

Sites of a later stage of the Kelteminar culture, now including the bones of domesticated animals, have been discovered in western Kazakhstan (A. A. Formozov's excavations). This has analogies with the neolithic of the Kama river basin, and must ultimately connect with the combed-ware cultures of north-east Europe and the Afanasyev culture of south Siberia (though the latter is some centuries later than the Kelteminar culture). The flint implements approximate to those collected by Sir Aurel Stein in Sinkiang. It is interesting to note that the shell *Corbicula fluminalis* is found on Afanasyev sites in the Minussinsk region of southern Siberia, to which the nearest source for it would have been the mouth of the Oxus.

The succeeding stage, introducing the Bronze Age, was identified by Tolstov in the same general area as the Kelteminar culture. He named it the Tazabagyab culture and dates it in the middle of the second millennium B.C. Whereas Kelteminar remains are found on ancient sandy eminences and on the edges of ancient lakes and marshes, Tazabagyab sites are located both on sand and on the takyr. The latter, characteristic of the region, is a smooth, hard surface consisting of clays and gravels deposited on the beds of former lakes. Tolstov regards Tazabagyab as a lineal descendant of Kelteminar, and compares it to the somewhat later Andronov culture of southern Siberia and Kazakhstan. The pots are now flat-bottomed and have stamped ornament in angular meanders, simple angles and triangles. Fragments of bronze were collected, but no intact metal objects, and there was no evidence as to the dominant form of food production. (If the analogy with Andronov, suggested by the ceramic forms, is regarded as fundamental —as seems to be Tolstov's inclination—we may guess at stock-raising and tillage.) Thus far there were no signs of artificial irrigation, and the sites are all established on the ancient river flood-plain.

Next in time comes the Suyargan culture (second half of the second millennium B.C.) which has only a minority of its pottery similar to that of Tazabagyab. The rest—flat-bottomed pots of various shapes—is smooth-surfaced and yellow for the most part. A small proportion of it is decorated with designs painted in black on a red ground. Here the connection with the south is unmistakable, and Tolstov actually postulates an important ethnic movement from the south into Khorezm. Conversely, he shows that the corresponding levels at Anau have contacts with the culture of the north. The fact that the Suyargan sites, like a number of Tazabagyab sites, lie on the takyr seems to imply a lowering of the water level and the draining of lakes round about 2500 B.C., the result possibly of the formation of the modern course of the Oxus after it had broken through the western extension of the Sultan-Uiz mountains. The historical importance of these sites is the evidence they give that the Early Bronze Age of Khorezm, like its Neolithic, is not directly related to the great urban cultures of Mesopotamia, despite cross-currents with the south, but is fundamentally a local variant of the bronze culture common to the steppe zone of eastern Europe, Kazakhstan and Siberia.

The earliest Iron Age culture of Khorezm is represented by the Amirabad culture discovered slightly to the north of Djanbas, south of the eastern extremity of the Sultan-Uiz mountains. The pottery has now altered completely, consisting chiefly of coarse thick-walled vessels, still hand-made, gritty, and black or grey-surfaced, with flat bottoms and bulging sides, low necks vertical or slightly everted. Decoration is rare and confined to herring-

bone incisions at the lip. This ware Tolstov holds to be the pottery of the Massagetoi, tribes related to the Scyths, who in historical times occupied the region to the south-west of the Aral Sea. He compares it to the pottery of A. A. Müller's "pre-Scythic" sites in the north Caucasus, and refers to the connection mentioned in Chinese writings between the tribes of the Prikubanye and the Priaralye. One Amirabad dwelling which was excavated measured seventy-seven metres by twenty and had clay walls one and a half to two metres thick. Tolstov dates the culture in the seventh and eighth centuries B.C and points to ceramic parallels with the succeeding archæological period.

This last brings us to the first period of the great fortresses, and Tolstov gives it the cumbrous but expressive name of the "period of towns with inhabited walls". The two most imposing ruins falling into this category bear the modern names of Kalaly-gyr and Küzeli-gyr, and are situated some seventy-five kilometres south-west of the modern town of Nukus. They are set on gravel hills near the course of an ancient canal, the Chermen Yab, on the edge of the Karakum desert in the Turkmen SSR. Their walls are of unfired brick and broken only by long slit-like loopholes. Kalaly-gyr forms a huge rectangle, about 1100 by 700 metres; Küzeli-gyr is triangular, following the contours of its hill, and covers an area 1000 by 400 metres. Arrow-heads of "Scythian" type found on these sites show that the buildings date from the sixth century B.C. Except for a many-roomed sepulchral building against the north wall of Kalaly-gyr, the internal areas of the fortresses are, surprisingly, devoid of structures or cultural remains of any sort. Plainly the life of the inhabitants was centred on the walls themselves, and it is the peculiarities of these that Tolstov takes as defining a period. The walls are pierced longitudinally, at Kalaly-gyr by two and at Küzeli-gyr by three parallel corridors roofed with barrel vaulting. This peculiar structure seems to correspond to the description given in the Avesta of the "square city of Vara", a fortress built by the mythical hero Yima: "In the wide part of the building he made nine passages, six in the part of intermediate width, and three in the narrow part." The central unobstructed area formed a kraal, into which the inhabitants' flocks and herds could be driven for protection in time of war and cattle raids. (A similar interpretation is given by British archæologists to many of our Neolithic and Bronze Age "hill-forts".)

From this cardinal feature Tolstov draws some far-reaching conclusions. In the economy of these settled communities, stock-raising predominated over agriculture (the evidence for the latter being found in the traces of ancient irrigation channels). Moreover, the building, with its undivided corridors, may be regarded as a single gigantic "long house", a magnified version of the Aminabad dwelling. There are no signs of family segregation or of social differentiation in the corridors. Tolstov argues that they housed an entire clan, or several related clans; and in the motive that prompted the immense labour of their building he sees reflected the process which finally disrupted the gentile social organisation of the primitive commune. In the continual strife to which the fortifications bear witness, the prize can only have been cattle; and cattle was the form of property that first (soon after the adoption of stock-farming) escaped from the communal control of the tribe and was concentrated in the hands of patriarchal families, the founders of tribal aristocracy.

The distribution on either side of the Oxus of "towns with inhabited walls" follows the plan of ancient irrigation canals. By the middle of the first millennium B.C. irrigation not only existed in Khorezm, but for the inhabitants its origins seem already to have been obscured in the mist of legend. Tolstov believes that the system was developed between the seventh

and sixth centuries B.C. Without a stable political unity these canals could neither have been dug nor—once completed—effectively controlled. As in other ancient states of the Middle East, slave-labour must have played a large part in their construction. Thus between the eighth and the sixth centuries B.C. it seems that an important change took place in the political order: the primitive democracy of the tribal organisation gave way to a centralised slave-owning state, in which, however, the primitive communal groupings continued to function, even retaining their gentile organisation and presumably their matriarchal traditions.

The period of the "towns with inhabited walls" is followed by that of the Kangkha culture, which lasts from the fourth century B.C. to the first century A.D. During these centuries the Khorezmian state, having regained its independence from Achaemenid Persia, reached the height of its power and occupied an important place in the political map of Central Asia. Some of the buildings of the period occupy the sites of earlier "towns with inhabited walls", others are fresh foundations of the fourth and third centuries. The majority of the walled cities of Khorezm, though they flourished chiefly in the first and second centuries A.D., were founded in the early and middle part of the Kangkha period. Inhabitable walls have now disappeared, and the settlements, clearly differentiated into larger and smaller (towns and villages), consist of walls enclosing fully built-up areas. In the towns the dwelling-quarters form a small number of large blocks (Tolstov uses the term doma-massivy), each composed of 150-200 rooms and therefore inhabited by 500-1000 persons. The blocks are ranged either side of a wide central street. Djanbas-kala, for instance, consists of two such blocks, while at Toprak-kala there are four blocks on each side of the main street, each set of four being divided up by narrow lanes. At Djanbas-kala a building of distinctive shape stood at the end of the wide street opposite to the chief entrance of the city. Excavation showed this to be the city's firetemple; in the centre of the principal room, and surrounded by thick layers of compacted wood-ash, was a small platform which itself showed no signs of burning—which is understandable when it is recalled that the sacred fire of a Zoroastrian temple was normally raised on a metal stand.

For interpreting the peculiar architecture of the Kangkha towns, Tolstov attaches great importance to marks found impressed or scratched on some of the bricks in the walls. At Djanbas-kala these marks (circles, crosses, and so on) form groups peculiar to each block of dwellings, and—Tolstov argues—reflect the division of the inhabitants into two phratries or clans. The tendency for towns to be divided by a large central street can be observed down to medieval times (when occasionally there is actually a dividing wall, as at Dargan); and other echoes of a dual social structure may be traced in ritual tradition. The Chinese History of the T'ang Dynasty speaks of a ritual combat on New Year's Day between two halves of a town in Ferghana, and the historian Al-Makdisi records a similar custom in a number of towns in east Iran in the tenth century A.D.

The pottery of the Kangkha period also contrasts with that of the towns with inhabited walls. The latter was roughly made on a hand-turned wheel, the paste is coarse and the firing uneven. Kangkha pottery on the other hand is made on a foot-driven (that is, rapid) wheel, is of fine paste and well fired. The shapes and decoration reflect the new manufacturing technique. The surface is often covered with a thick red (more rarely black or greenish-white) slip, and modelled applied ornament is common. At Djanbas-kala a lion's head on the handle is popular. All this bespeaks the industrialisation of the craft.

Besides the large towns, a number of smaller built-up sites are referable to the Kangkha period. Examples are Koi-krylgan-kala and Künerli-kala on

the Chermen Yab, which consist of a single block of dwellings surrounded by a defensive wall. The rise of these smaller settlements on the model of the larger ones is interpreted as a sign of the increasing part played in the economy by agriculture as against stock-raising, which agrees with the inference to be drawn from the observed maximum development of the irrigation system at this time. Small clay statuettes, coarse examples of which were present in the preceding period, are now commoner and better modelled. In them Tolstov sees images of Anahita, the patron goddess of irrigation and of the Oxus river. Male images are also found, and are identified by the excavators as Anahita's escort, Sabazi-Siyavush, divine ancestor of the Khorezmian kings.

Tolstov's Kangkha period covers some centuries of tumultuous events in Central Asia. Setting out from his identification of Kangkha with Khorezm, Tolstov attempts to define the political role of the Khorezmian state. The first half of the second century B.C. saw an increase in the power of the "northern barbarians" inhabiting the Jaxartes basin and the region between this river and the Oxus. This confederation of tribes, known to the Chinese collectively as the Yüeh-chih, and to Greek and Latin authors either collectively as the Massagetoi or by the name of one of the constituent tribes (Asiani, Tochari, Apasiakoi, Sakaravakoi), was engaged during the first half of the second century B.C. in a struggle with the Hun empire to the east. After a final defeat in 165 B.C. they turned their attention southwards. Allied with Parthia (the state formed south of the Caspian Sea in the third century B.C. by secession from the empire of Alexander's inheritors, the Seleucids), they attacked the state of Bactria, which held the hilly country around the upper course of the Oxus. Bactria, like Parthia, had secured its independence from the Seleucids in the third century and in the second century had added its considerable power to that of the Seleucids in opposing the encroachments of the "northern barbarians". But its defeat in 140 B.C. was complete; its territory was occupied by the Tocharians and came to be known as Tocharistan.

It was shortly afterwards, in 126 B.C., that Chang Ch'ien, the envoy of the Chinese emperor Wu Ti, visited Central Asia (Ferghana) in his unsuccessful quest for an alliance with the Massagetoi against the Huns, the principal antagonists of the Chinese empire. His dispatches were incorporated in the Annals of the Former Han Dynasty. For the first time the state of K'ang-chü, or Kangkha, is mentioned. It is described as marching with Ferghana on the east and with Bactria and Persia on the south, and as including the oases of Chorasmia and Bukhara on the west. Kangkha, as we have seen, Tolstov regards as synonymous with the state of greater Khorezm itself. According to Chang Ch'ien, it controlled five great cities which Tolstov equates with Kesh, Kushania, Tashkent, Bukhara and Urgench, but "its weakness compelled it to submit to the Yüeh-chih in the south and to the Huns in the east".

This eclipse of Kangkha's power was, in Tolstov's view, only temporary. In about 175 B.C. it had been strong enough to oppose Eukratides, King of Bactria, then at the height of his power, and to secure its traditional hold on Sogdia and the middle course of the Jaxartes. At about the beginning of the Christian era, according to the Annals of the Later Han Dynasty, it had acquired control of the Alans in the region to the north and north-west of the Caspian, and even of tribes dwelling farther to the north. Tolstov's thesis rests on what promises to be a most important contribution to the history of this obscure period: the identification of the earliest coins issued by the Khorezmian dynasts, the Siyavushids. The coins in question were collected in relatively large numbers in the course of Tolstov's expedition. They combine the S-shaped symbol which he holds to be the emblem of

the house of Siyavush with features peculiar to Bactrian coins, and therefore, he argues, they indicate Khorezmian rule over the Massagetoi established in Bactria. The hypothesis he advances is that after temporarily relinquishing its leading position in the confederacy during the expansion of the mid-second century B.C., Khorezm regained something of its former power during the succeeding century.

The characteristic cultural stamp of Central Asia, Khorezm included, in the first two centuries A.D. was, however, the result of yet another political order. This was the rise to power of the Kushans, one of the five groups ruled by their own kings within the confederacy. The Kushan king Kuzuk Kadphises united under his rule the Massagetoi-Tochari of Bactria, broke away from Khorezm, occupied Sogdia, defeated the Parthian and Saka kings to the south of the Hindu Kush, and subjugated Kashmir and the Kabul valley. Under Kadphises II (A.D. 45-78) the Kushan empire reached to Benares. In culture the Kushan kings were increasingly Indianised, Peshawar becoming their capital. Khorezm was included in the Kushan territories, probably by virtue of its membership of the old Massagetoi confederacy. Under the third Kushan king, Kanishka (whose dates are bitterly disputed, though generally—and by Tolstov—taken as A.D. 78-123) the empire reached the zenith of its power, and with Rome, Parthia and China was one of the four great empires of the world at this period. The Kushan political unity, embracing Central Asia, Northern India and ultimately Eastern Turkestan, facilitated the spread of Buddhist religion and art into the heart of Asia and eventually to China. In Northern India the Kushan epoch saw the rise of the great Gandhara school of Buddhist sculpture.

Tolstov's investigation of Khorezmian ruins of Kushan date gives us for the first time a glimpse of the social relations underlying the vicissitudes of this dynastic history. An important complex of buildings inhabited at this period is the village settlement of Ayaz-kala on the south-eastern edge of the Sultan Uiz mountains. Coins of Kanishka found in the cultural deposits of one of the excavated dwellings gave sound evidence for dating. Many Kushan coins of the second century A.D. were also found lying on sand-free ground surface, some of them overstamped with the emblem of the Siyavushids. The layout of the settlement makes a significant contrast with the fortified towns and villages of the Kangkha period. In the latter there was no apparent sharp distinction between the palaces of an aristocracy and the dwellings of the people. The Ayaz-kala settlement, sited along the crest and foot of a south-facing cliff of like name, comprised a large number of separate but more or less contiguous smallholdings, which were unfortified, each consisting of an area enclosed by a low brick wall. Against one side of the wall was set a modest building of ten to fifteen rooms, in no way comparable to the blocks of dwellings forming the units of Kangkha towns. One such enclosure which was excavated, producing little in the way of finds, measured approximately 9,000 square metres.

These enclosures have the appearance of holdings of single families. From their midst rose three most imposing fortresses. One of these, crowning the cliff, had powerful walls with a vaulted passage and a gallery at the level of the loopholes. Towers of semi-circular plan lined the walls at intervals, two standing adjacent at the corners (a feature which the excavators regard as characteristic of the middle and late Kushan period). A similar fortress stood on the slope of the cliff. Below, among the farms, was located the largest fortified building of the three, its many-turreted walls enclosing an area of 180 metres by 260. The living quarters, adjacent to the wall on the north side, contained forty rooms.

From this scatter of small enclosures dominated by three piles large out of all proportion to other buildings, Tolstov makes an important deduction

touching the long-debated question of the rise of a true feudal order in Central Asia. He regards the Ayaz-kala complex as a single economic unit. The fortresses are the homes of the aristocracy who controlled the settlement, the largest enclosure being the keep of the actual ruler, while the remaining small homesteads belonged to patriarchal family communes. The large communal groups of the Kangkha period, such as Djanbas-kala, have broken down into smaller units more comparable to the familiae of the Roman republic, and above them has risen an aristocracy with a distinct economic role determined by their larger properties. Inequalities of property rights, Tolstov allows, had no doubt arisen earlier as communal rights began to weaken, but under the Kushans the process reached a critical stage and the commune itself disintegrated. This is not yet, however, to be regarded as a fully fledged feudalism: the seeds of feudalism have only begun to germinate. Nor can the transition have been simple or synchronous. The communal structure of Djanbas-kala, for example, as reflected in its architecture, survived into the early part of the Kushan period; while there are signs that the formation of large family units had begun at an earlier time. Reasoning thus, Tolstov attempts to deduce, for the first time, the social order of the Kushan empire. The fortress on the cliff-top, which seems to have been designed for purely military purposes, having no living quarters, and to be disproportionate to the needs of the settlement, was probably built for the requirements of imperial as well as local defence, being well sited to guard a sector of the northern frontier for the Kushan kings. Thus it reflects a further decline in the autonomy of a free commune.

In the third century the Kushan rulers lost a large part of their Indian possessions, maintaining undisputed power only in the Kabul river basin. Towards the end of the second century and the beginning of the third the kings of Khorezm began again to strike their own coins on the lines of the old Kangkha coinage, reviving in their emblems the tradition of the ancient dynasty of the Siyavushids. Already in the second century the S-shaped symbol appears on both sides of Kushan coins; the superscription on coins of the king Arsamuh I is the earliest example of Khorezmian writing, now identified for the first time. It uses letters derived from the Aramaic alphabet of the Achaemenid period.

Besides the rural settlement of Ayaz-kala, the important Kushan town of Toprak-kala, lying about twenty-five kilometres to the south-west, was investigated by Tolstov and yielded important information on the sculpture and painting of the period. The special interest of this site had long been realised, but it was not until 1940 that Tolstov was able to begin work on a detailed survey, and then he was interrupted by the war. But in the years 1945-47 he returned to conduct large-scale excavations. The early city (it was remodelled in the sixth, eighth and twelfth-thirteenth centuries) lasted from the first to the fifth or possibly the sixth century A.D. The Kushan level of deposits was found buried intact under the accumulated debris of later ages. The rectangular city wall, pierced by lancet loopholes, set with towers at intervals, and doubled on the outside by a rampart, enclosed an area 500 metres by 350. Through the foundations of the wall ran a continuous arched corridor. The north-west corner of this enclosure was occupied by a citadel, shut off by its own wall and measuring 180 metres square. In its courtyard stood a fire temple, and in the north-west corner of the courtyard a keep consisting of three towers, all still standing to a height of about twenty-five metres. The living quarters form two storeys. The southern part of the town was occupied by eight residential blocks, each equal in size to the two blocks constituting the town of Djanbas-kala as previously described.

The three towers and about a hundred apartments were excavated in

the citadel. The frescoes discovered here in 1945, and the statuary unearthed in 1947, add a new chapter to the history of art in Central Asia. Fragments of frescoes were found in the majority of the rooms. The painting was executed on a surface prepared with fine alabaster, nearly always on white as a ground colour; the forms were always outlined in black and the colour laid in patches of different thickness within this contour, in manner varying from fine and meticulous to broad and bold, interpreting the relief and respecting the highlights. One room, with four columns supporting its roof and evidently more important than the rest (Room 5), had its walls richly decorated with a pattern of intersecting bands painted in black and yellow, bearing rosettes and acanthus leaves and framing pictures of musicians in rhombic panels. One of the latter was preserved almost entire —a female harpist portrayed in tones of yellow. Her wrists are adorned with bracelets and her fingers lie on the strings of a large triangular harp. The room was further decorated with garlands of fruit and leaves modelled in stucco, painted green, saffron and red. A fragment of a life-size hand was found, modelled in high-relief and resting the ends of the fingers on an object of rounded-rectangular shape, a gesture well known on the coins of the Kushan kings Vima Kadphises and Kanishka.

The lower parts of some large painted scenes were found still adhering to the base of the walls. One room had a panel with white and red fish emerging from a background of blue waves; another had a scene of people and animals amid vines painted on a ground of black and red; yet another showed a group of people and horses painted on a scarlet ground in a panel formed of black scales on dove-grey. The paintings on a scarlet ground predominated in rooms lying on the north side of one of the towers, and were probably executed by the same hand. Pheasants, tigers and horses were among the animal subjects.

Only a relatively small proportion of this painting—represented principally by the harpist—shows the influence of Indo-Buddhist art. The bulk of it is individual in style and warrants the recognition of an independent Khorezmian school with a particularly rich palette of strong colours—a wide range of blues, crimsons, violet, orange and so on—and making use of shading and highlights to represent relief.

No less important for the history of art was the sculpture discovered in the excavations. Some thirty fragments of figures modelled in unfired clay were found dispersed through nine rooms. The figures were mostly life-size, though some fragments came from statues one and a half times or twice natural size. The faces were painted in natural colours and the clothing was white, green, pink, blue, red, and black, with embroidery picked out in contrasting colours. Some of the fragments were the lower parts of seated figures, and showed careful modelling of the folds of garments falling around the limbs, in the style of Gandharan sculpture, though—Tolstov claims—showing enough individuality to suggest that the Indian influence was adapted to an independent local tradition. The realism of the modelling of the few complete heads included in the finds is equal to any work produced in other centres of late Hellenistic art.

The greater part of the statuary was found in the room now named Hall of the Kings, an apartment twenty metres square situated in the northeast part of the court. Around its walls ran a wide ledge divided into compartments by lattice walls of brick decorated with figures. In each of these compartments had stood a group of figures. In two of them were found male statues, seated originally it seems on the ledge, and surrounded by three to five standing statues of men, women and children. The walls behind the seated statues were painted with white and red lilies on a dark blue ground, set in a monochrome panel of pinkish orange. The head-dresses of

two of the statues are identical with the peculiar crowns of two of the third-century Khorezmian kings as seen on the coins. Particularly interesting is the head-dress in the form of an eagle's head, for it appears on some of the earliest Khorezmian coins issued in the third century after the re-establishment of the country's independence from Kushan rule. This fragment was found in one of the end niches of the row.

The greatest interest attaches to Tolstov's interpretation of these groups of statues as the portrait gallery of the Siyavushid dynasty, depicting the rulers of the third century A.D., each allotted a compartment where he sat surrounded by members of his family. It would then follow that Toprakkala was the capital of Khorezm until the dynasty transferred its seat (in A.D. 305 according to Al-Biruni) to the town of Ket (Shabbaz). Toprak-kala continued to be inhabited until the sixth century, although in the fourth the citadel was abandoned, as the excavations show.

The life of the first city of Toprak-kala (that is, disregarding the later rebuildings) covers the last two of Tolstov's cultural divisions: the Kushan period (second and third centuries) and the Kushan-Afrigid period (third to fifth centuries). In the latter name he commemorates the Khorezmian king Afrig, from whom Al-Biruni tells us the Khorezmians reckoned their dates in pre-Islamic times, and whose fourth-century castle, identified as the modern Pil-kala, was "visible for ten miles and more" and celebrated as one of the wonders of the age. Towns of the age of Afrig and his successors follow approximately the plan of Toprak-kala, with strongly fortified citadels, or dominated by large central keeps.

Lack of space prevents us from pursuing the archæological story into the medieval period, reckoned by Tolstov from the sixth century. After the Arab conquest in 712, the history of Khorezm is obscure. On the whole the country suffered a political and economic decline as a client state of the caliphate under a series of more or less independent petty dynasts. In the twelfth century, however, it slowly rose to unprecedented political and economic power, under its rulers Qutb-ud-Din Muhammed I and his son Atsyz, only to succumb to the Mongol invaders of Central Asia in 1218. Thereafter Khorezm was like "a tent whose ropes are cut". The heart of the country was divided between two Mongol nations, the *ulus* of Djuchi on the left bank of the Oxus and that of Djagatai on the right.

The investigation of medieval sites represents about one-half of the work of expeditions down to 1947, though none of these sites was excavated on the same scale as Toprak-kala, or yielded such important and unforeseen results. Tolstov continues to pay the same attention to architectural features as evidence for the growth of feudal institutions. He concludes that a fully developed feudalism, combined with a growth of towns and the reclaiming of lands previously abandoned, is not found before the period of the Khorezmian shahs (eleventh to thirteenth centuries); although even then he regards the undefended village settlements as preserving the large-family type of organisation.

The work of Tolstov and his colleagues in Central Asia demonstrates impressively the results to be achieved by the close co-operation of the historian and archæologist—though indeed here they are combined in one man. Both he and the learned institutions for which he worked deserve our warmest congratulations.

REFERENCES

This article is based on material published in VOPROSI ISTORII 1949, 2 and 1950, 3, and in SERIA ISTORII I FILOSOFI AKAD. NAUK 1947, IV, 2, as well as on S. P. Tolstov's book Drewnii Khorezm. All the above are available for consultation in the SCR Library.

Also: SEE NOTE ON P. 30.

ASJ MOSCOW LETTER

From Ralph Parker

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NOTES ON THE CULTURAL SITUATION

IN THE GEORGIAN SSR

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EARLY in 1951 the Soviet Socialist Republic of Georgia will be celebrating the thirtieth anniversary of the establishment there of Soviet power. The following notes, taken during a visit to Georgia in the autumn of 1950, deal with only one aspect of that country's rapid development during those

thirty years.

The reader should bear in mind that Georgia today has an important heavy industry powered by electric energy produced by the rivers that run turbulently down from the Caucasian ranges, and that Georgia's silk, spun on looms of local construction, Georgian woollens, woven in factories of the most up-to-date type, Georgia's wines, not to mention her tobacco and her tea—and the lemons the Russians like to take with their tea—are famous throughout the Soviet Union. It is now a fact that every young Georgian who finishes his education at Tbilisi University, or at any of the many other places of higher education in the Georgian capital, can find work compatible with his qualifications within the frontiers of Georgia. Soviet power, in short, has not only freed the Georgian people from ignorance and backwardness, it has created the conditions in which the Georgians can use their knowledge for the welfare of their own country.

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THE Deputy Minister of Education in Georgia is a woman, one of the fiftyseven women who are Deputies in the Supreme Soviet of the Republic. When she received me in her office on the sixth floor of the building of the Council of Ministers, a pinky-yellow building on which the builders are still at work, she explained to me that the Minister was away touring outlying villages in the Svanetian Highlands with a mobile laboratory. This is the way teachers in the remoter valleys of the Caucasian mountains are given practical instruction in the use of new school equipment for the chemistry and physics laboratories. Mariam Burtchuladze told us that she herself had just returned from a similar trip in the mountains and that at this moment the results of her inspection were being discussed in the college of the Ministry. The rapidity with which the school-children's capacity for learning was growing—the result, she thought, of better health and higher living standards—necessitated a constant raising of teachers' qualifications and improvement of teaching methods. Such today is the respect in which the Georgian city-dwellers-Tbilisi is a 1,500-year-old city-hold those mountaineers who till quite recently were living under a clan system little different in organisation from ancient Greek society.

Mariam Burtchuladze is middle-aged with greying hair and those large heavy-lidded dark eyes below arched brows that one sees so often in Georgia. She wore a line of medal ribbons pinned to her black silk dress. Most of her life had been spent in helping to create a Georgian educational system in a land whose deep-rooted culture had until 1921 been under attack from

alien cultures practically since its birth in the Bronze Age.

"We Georgian educationists have a special task", she explained. "You see, in Tsarist days the study of our own history and even of our own literature and language was prohibited in the schools. There were, in fact, no more than 250 schools in the whole country. This year over 4,500 are open and are being attended by 700,000 children. In Tsarist days there was just one kindergarten. Now we have 500, with 40,000 children in them. There was only one institute, now there are twenty-five catering for 25,000 students, not to mention research institutions run by various industries and the very large number of technical schools. We have our University and Academy of Sciences. So you realise that our educational system, though very young, is very large. We have, in fact, all the schools we need and the attendance figures are far higher than those in England. For every 1,000 people in our country 223 have secondary education, fourteen have higher education. Our main concern, therefore, is to raise standards of teaching and of school equipment. We have also to consider how best to satisfy our people's tremendous curiosity about the past of their own country, which, as you know, is considerably longer than that of many other nations."

The Deputy Minister went on to talk about the pioneer work that has been done in the remoter parts of the Caucasus. In the early days it was often necessary to send teachers there from the more advanced districts, but now the Highlands are already able to supply their own requirements for teachers, as they are able to do for administrators, doctors and various kinds of experts. The substantial rise in teachers' pay during the war, and the introduction of a generous pension system, and especially the measures taken to improve teachers' housing conditions, had attracted many more people into the teaching profession; Mrs. Burtchuladze stressed once again

that the problem today concerned quality and not quantity.

It was interesting to learn that some of the schools in the Highlands have been so successful that they have already provided the Republic with people who have become prominent in political as well as academic life. Mention was made, for example, of the Secretary of the YCL Central Committee and of the eminent young historian, Dr. Krutishvili, both of whom originated in villages where before 1921 books were unknown. The Deputy Minister insisted, however, that the main gains from educating the peoples of the Highlands were being felt locally. To provide students in these out-of-the-way places with the opportunity of obtaining higher education locally, there were institutes, mainly medical and pedagogical, in the provincial centres as well as in the capitals of the Autonomous Republics of Adzharia and Abkhazia and of the South-Ossetian Autonomous Region. This is in keeping with the Soviet principle of spreading the benefits of socialism as broadly as possible.

An interesting feature of education in Georgia is that school attendance is one year longer than in Russia. The reason is the extra hours of study required by children who, in addition to studying their own language, literature and history, receive a thorough education in the Russian language and in the history of the USSR. It should be noted that a third language, English or French, is an essential part of the school programme. To fit in the extra hours the Georgian primary school programme lasts eight years instead of the seven of the RSFSR's primary schools, while instead of the familiar Russian ten-year (primary and secondary) school, Georgia has the eleven-year school. It is greatly to the credit of the Georgian educational authorities, and also a reminder of the fact that Georgian cities were not destroyed by war, that they have been able to make attendance at eleven-year schools universal in all Georgian towns, including the large city of Tbilisi. Every child attending school in a Georgian town stays there for eleven years. In this respect Georgia has already fulfilled the plans

announced on the eve of the late war, which envisaged universal secondary education in Soviet cities and towns.

I visited one of Tbilisi's girls' schools, an oldish building close to the banks of the River Kura, which rushes headlong through the centre of Georgia's capital. In the entrance stands a bust of the Georgian poet Ilya Chavchavadze, after whom the school is named, and I recalled the words this poet wrote almost a hundred years ago in his *Lines to a Georgian Mother*, when I saw the headmistress, Tamara Matiashvili, talking to the girls in the classes we visited together.

"O mother! hear the country's plea: Nurture thy sons with spirits strong Led by the torch of truth, whose flame Will banish ignorance and wrong."

For Tamara Matiashvili, a young woman with great charm of manner, has a way of looking at the children in her charge as if they were all her own. At a meeting where about two hundred of them were hearing accounts of how the summer holidays had been spent, I noticed that she seemed to know every girl by her first name. For my part I was wondering where I had seen Tamara Matiashvili before, for her face seemed familiar. Such situations are, of course, frequently arising in a country where the newspapers and popular magazines so often publish photographs of people who have distinguished themselves in serving the community. Then I remembered: the Great Palace of the Kremlin thronged with deputies to the Supreme Soviet; Stalin sitting close to the statue of Lenin behind the chairman's table; Tamara Matiashvili's name proposed as a Deputy Chairman of the Council of Nationalities; a unanimous vote, and then this rather short pleasant-looking Georgian woman, who had till recently been a teacher of Russian, stepping from the floor and taking her place at the table close to where Stalin sat with his closest helpers.

Tamara Matiashvili took us round several of the classrooms. As in Russia, Georgian school life begins with the first class, so that the children of the sixth class whom we interrupted during a Russian oral lesson must have been about thirteen years old. They were neatly dressed in rather long brown woollen frocks with black silk overalls. Many of them wore shoes of the patent leather which, like the silk, is a local speciality. Noticeable, too, were the thick, well-kept heads of hair, with pigtails often reaching well below the waist and tied with enormous black or white silk bows.

When we came into the classroom a girl was repeating in Russian the story of the two Pioneers who were late for school because they discovered and then averted the danger of a railway accident, and who then ran back home to tell their parents the reason in case the school should have sent somebody to inquire whether they were playing truant. Her Russian was fluent, but the teachers pulled her up when, to everybody's amusement, she used a racy piece of Russian slang. I had noticed while walking about Tbilisi, which has a very lively street life, how readily Georgian children take to colloquial Russian. When the children had told me some of their favourite Georgian authors, with the classics about equally balancing present-day works, I asked them what they knew of Russian literature. Many mentioned Pushkin and several those works of Lermontov that have the Caucasus as their setting. It was interesting to note how bilingualism in practice means that the Georgian students are combining the knowledge of their own literature with knowledge of the best of Russian literature. A nation whose children are able to read both Evgeni Onegin and Shota Rustaveli's The Knight in the Tiger's Skin in the original is indeed to be envied.

In the teachers' common-room I had an opportunity of seeing in practice what the Deputy Minister of Education had told me was being done to keep teachers up to the constantly rising standards of requirement. The staff comes together for regular discussions on methodological questions, and the common-room is really more of a laboratory where the science of teaching is studied than a place of rest between lessons. I was told that many of the ideas acted upon by the Ministry of Education originate in these staff rooms rather in the way that in industry reforms frequently derive from workers in the factories. At present the pros and cons of co-education are being discussed, as they are throughout the Soviet Union. It was interesting to hear so many views being put forward and debated with that vehemence which characterises all Soviet discussions, especially interesting in a country where previously there was a sharp cleavage between the activities of men and women. Georgian teachers, as far as I could gather, are overwhelmingly against any tendency to use methods which imply that boys and girls are in the nature of things differently equipped for work, and will never countenance a system which would prepare girls for the home alone. On the other hand I frequently heard the view expressed that it would be wise to wait until a careful analysis could be made of the educational records—from primary school to graduation at a university—of children taught under the present system of divided schools. As children taught in country districts are still attending mixed schools there will before long be an occasion to draw comparisons based on complete records. Tamara Matiashvili, for example, though expressing a personal preference for mixed schools, does not consider that the question calls for an immediate decision. It is noteworthy that this question of co-education, so often approached elsewhere with prejudices that have little bearing on the simple question of whether children study better together or apart, is being considered in the Soviet Union from that point of view alone.

It is also perhaps worth calling attention to the trouble taken in the schools to keep in touch with former pupils. At this Tbilisi school I learned that the school authorities bore a certain degree of responsibility, during her first year in an Institute, for any pupil who goes on to higher education, and that the authorities in these Institutes kept in close touch with the headmistress. Three-quarters of the girls who left this typical Tbilisi school last summer are today studying in one way or another, and I found that a careful record is kept of their progress and results.

I have already mentioned the work that is being done to raise educational standards in Svanetia, the region located in the high valley of the Inguri, where tourists, greatly daring, used to watch people living under a form of social organisation closely related to the exogamous clan system that emerged from the primitive horde. In the Georgian State Museum in Tbilisi there is a fascinating exhibition of the life and customs of Free Svanetia, so called because of its fierce resistance to changes threatened by the various alien peoples who have sought to penetrate the Caucasian valleys. And I also saw much evidence of the effort that has been made to lift the Svans out of their ignorance without causing unnecessary offence to local tradition.

From what I could learn in Georgia, the transition of the lives of the people of Svanetia to Soviet Socialism has not been a difficult process. There were about 13,000 Svans at the time of the Revolution and by 1937 they had built themselves twenty-seven schools. Today there are fifty-two in the Highlands and thirty-two in the Lowlands. In 1933 there were only three doctors, but a few years later this figure had rise to fifteen and just before the war no fewer than twenty-seven Svans finished medical training in Tbilisi.

Before they returned to their native villages they had their photographs taken and gave a copy to the State Museum, where it now hangs among the battleaxes and wooden ploughs of yesterday. And with the schools and the hospitals and clinics have come the libraries and the clubs. In 1935 the Svans built twelve public libraries, the next year fourteen, the next eleven. Their new buildings are neat two-storey houses with the spacious balconies found all over Georgia. The old watch-towers are used to store grain.

When I heard that there were now over 4,000 children attending school in Svanetia, I remembered what we had seen from the train that had brought us through the high country of the Kabardines on the northern side of the Gaucasus opposite Svanetia—the little boys and girls carrying satchels, as they walked along forest paths and beside mountain torrents on their way to school, and the voung shepherd who came to the train at a halt and exchanged some fruit for a book of Tolstoy's tales, and the advertisement of a performance of Griboyedov's Wit Works Woe we had seen stuck on a pillar at a small station. Everybody seems to be avidly devouring culture in these regions, which, though they have figured in the works of so many great writers, have not in the past been noted for the literacy of their inhabitants.

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THE Russian Governors of Georgia lived in a palace on the street named after General Golovin, the successor of Vorontzov. It is an imposing granite-built edifice with a big garden and very many rooms. Just the place, the Georgians decided, for their children to amuse themselves in, so the Governor's Palace became the Pioneers' Palace, and the street is now named after Georgia's greatest poet, Rustaveli. They later named the Pioneers' Palace after Lavrenti Beria, the Georgian who did so much to transform Tbilisi and the lives of its inhabitants.

Six thousand children use this Palace of Pioneers, and many more attend district Pioneer Houses in Tbilisi. They are selected from children who have good school marks and who have shown that they are capable of passing on their knowledge to others, for one of the cardinal principles of Pioneer work is summed up in the phrase I read on the door of a study in the Palace: "Teach others what you learn here."

School-children come to the Palace twice a week to attend "circles" according to their preferences. The adult leaders of these circles—which seem to cover every hobby a child could possibly be interested in—treat the children with the respect due to young specialists. No marks are given, and the only reward a child's achievements receive is the esteem of its fellows for any piece of creative work placed on show.

A circle is conducted quite differently from a school class. For one thing it is much smaller, with rarely more than a dozen members. Attendance is voluntary, though absenteeism may lead to another filling one's place. The whole accent is laid on original work, and the circle leaders—who quite rightly avoid using the word teacher to describe their function—keep very much in the background when the children are engaged on it.

Every circle is its own publishing house, too. This particular one had brought out, in manuscript form, but beautifully illustrated with photographs and original drawings, a short history of Abkhazia that had aroused considerable interest among adult members of the staff. In the literature circles I noted how much attention was paid to encouraging children to take a critical attitude towards what they read or saw. One girl of fourteen told me she was keen on theatre criticism and showed me a long paper she had prepared on J. B. Priestley's *Time and the Conways*. Alas, it was in the Georgian language, so that I never discovered what Nina Grishashvili with the long pigtails thought of J.B.'s play.

How quickly the problems that are exercising adult minds find their echo among these children! In a geography room I saw meticulously drawn maps of the great irrigation schemes that had been announced only a few weeks before; it was clear that the boys and girls in this circle had most carefully studied the plans. Near these maps were illustrations of what Georgia herself had planned to do with her rivers.

This quick response to schemes which, of course, will have been completed by the time most of these children are grown-up is typical of the spirit of a Pioneer Palace. Soviet society is confident that the life that awaits the children is a joyful one, that the Soviet people are building a land for happy people, and they wish their children to know it. This Tbilisi Palace of Pioneers is used by children who think a great deal about their friendships, their visits to the cinema, their picnics in the country, their hours on the playing-field. But there is no place or need in their minds for the myths that so often bemuse youth in capitalist society with dreams of making money or marrying a rich heiress or a "fairy prince": Soviet life as it is, and as it is becoming, is sufficiently exciting, sufficiently rosy to capture the imagination of any adolescent.

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since the Revolution Georgian music has freed itself from a good deal of the "orientalism" that had accrued to it during the Persian and Turkish occupation and had lingered on during a century of Tsarist Russian rule. After hearing the recordings of the true unspoiled Georgian folk-music—songs of labour, of protest, of yearning for freedom—made by the staff of the Tbilisi Conservatory in remoter parts of the Caucasian mountains, I can understand why Tsarist officials banned the performance of so many Georgian songs. For these songs (in polyphonic style, usually with three distinct melodic lines) are of a tremendously heady national character. Georgian choral music, as sung in the mountain valleys, is very ancient, but to describe it as primitive would be false. Melodically and harmonically, Georgian choral music is probably unique, and I have searched memory in vain for anything I had ever heard resembling its principal features.

Many of the songs are of a declamatory nature and call to mind scenes of Georgian life where, drinking-horns in hand, men cap each other's toasts with new snatches of song to a point of something akin to ecstasy. Most moving of all the folk-songs I heard was one in which two large groups of workers moving along opposite sides of a narrow valley at increasing pace sang to, or rather at, each other until the effect was almost unbearable, so vivid a picture did it conjure up of the breathless speed with which the singers were working. Then suddenly all the voices hung on a chord of open fifths.

The Director of the Tbilisi Conservatory told me that present-day Georgian composers are now paying much more attention to folk-music. Grigori Kiladze, who is the son of a compositor, is himself a distinguished composer. The Conservatory he heads grew out of the Musical School founded before the Revolution and directed for a time by the Russian composer Ipolitov-Ivanov. Its 300 students are mostly drawn from the musical schools, of which each administrative district of Tbilisi and other Georgian towns has one. There are choirs in every town and in many villages, and they are avid for music written in the fine Georgian tradition they understand, which some present-day composers have tended to neglect

How successfully national music can be adapted for performance in the theatre I discovered a few days later at Tbilisi's Grand Opera House. Z. Paliashvili's Abesalom and Eteri was being performed. This opera is considered the first major work in this genre to make full use of the melodic and harmonic richness of Georgian national music, and it represents a clean

break with the Italian style that was in sole favour before the Revolution. The subject is eminently suitable for grand opera, a national legend about the tragic love of a prince for a peasant girl whose beauty is made to fade by an evil charm given her as a marriage gift by a jealous Vizir. Though legendary, its characters are treated realistically, and the dramatic effect of the opera is most powerful.

A few days later I watched the company present the new Georgian ballet Gorda, which received a Stalin prize this year and is chiefly remarkable for the dancing of Vakhtang Chibukiani, generally considered to be the finest male dancer in Soviet ballet. On the following night the Tbilisi Opera presented a light opera, Keto and Kote, by Viktor Dolidze. On each occasion the house was packed, though the season was still young, and each performance was presented and performed with a finish that one would look for in vain in many capitals of Western Europe. And each of the works was essentially Georgian but without the slightest trace of provincialism.

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THESE notes leave much unsaid about the culture of contemporary Georgia, a country where editions of modern Georgian poetry run into twenty or thirty thousand copies, where work of capital importance to the study of Caucasian man is being done in the diggings of Trialetia and Mtskhet, and where by a concerted effort of State and Church the great monuments of Georgia's Christian past are being restored, to mention only a few of the activities of these vigorous and talented people. But perhaps enough has been described to indicate how Georgian culture is flourishing under Soviet equal partnership as it never could when foreign powers treated the country as a colony.

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Each deals in a different way with the same theme, that of the clash between youthful enthusiasm and middle-aged complacency, progressive initiative and self-satisfied smugness. SIGNAL GREEN is set in a small, remote railway junction; THE MOSCOW CHARACTER in the heart of the capital; and THE HAWTHORN GROVE on a farm in the lush Ukraine. All are quick-fire argumentative comedies with romantic interest and plenty of strong character parts. The three form an interesting series.

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THE TECHNIQUE OF QUESTIONING AN ACCUSED PERSON

By A. Vasiliev

TRANSLATOR'S NOTE: While I have used the expression "examining magistrate" as the nearest equivalent of the Russian word sledovatel, it will be seen that the functions of the Soviet official differ widely from those of our magistrates on the preliminary hearing of an indictable offence. So great are the procedural differences between our two systems that he really has no British counterpart.

However, to give Western readers some idea of his functions, it may be mentioned that they are almost exactly paralleled by those of the French juge d'instruction. The duties of the juge d'instruction will be found set out in Book 1, Chapter VI of the Code d'Instruction Criminelle. He summons all prosecution witnesses and takes their depositions (ss. 71-86), conducts searches at the accused's residence or elsewhere (ss. 87-88), seizes any property material to the charge (s. 89), admits to bail, conducts private interrogation of the accused (s. 93), and commits for trial if and when he has assembled a prima facie case (ss. 127-136).

The Criminal Procedure Code of the RSFSR (Chapters IX-XIX) contains very similar provisions on all these points, the differences being mainly additional safeguards for the accused. For example, there are very strict time-limits for each step in procedure, and there is an obligation to admit to bail pending trial in all but the gravest cases.

QUESTIONING the accused is certainly one of the most important stages in an investigation, and is the culminating point of the examining magistrate's task. As the magistrate approaches this point, having unravelled step by step the tangle of the crime, and accumulated materials implicating the criminal, the climax of the investigation is at hand.

It is incontestable that the accused always knows more about the case and about his own guilt or innocence than anyone else; the point is to be able to elicit a truthful statement from him: that is, if the magistrate's theory is right, and the accused is guilty, to get an admission of his guilt, and if he is not guilty, to get a statement from him enabling the magistrate to abandon his unfounded theory and find the correct path.

Eliciting a truthful statement from the accused: in this lies the whole

art of an examining magistrate.

Of course, the accused's guilt must be proved by extrinsic evidence, and his admission or denial of guilt is not conclusive. Indeed, getting a confession from the accused is even treated with some disdain in practice. Some magistrates say: "He won't admit it: no matter; his guilt is none the less proved." But it is highly satisfactory for a magistrate to be able to include in his indictment an admission by the accused of his guilt, provided, of course, that the admission accords with reality and the facts of the case.

How is a truthful statement to be obtained from the accused? The answer to this question is as involved as is the variety of human character, psychology and individual peculiarities. It is undeniable that in many cases the accused's fear of his responsibility for the crime he has committed, or his dread of revenge by his fellow accused, or other similar motives, are so strong that no amount of skill on the magistrate's part will enable him to elicit a truthful statement from the accused. But it is also undeniable that in many cases the magistrate fails to elicit the truth simply because he lacks the necessary skill in questioning.

It is therefore absolutely essential to devote the most careful study to the technique of questioning an accused person. We will try to elucidate some practical features of this problem for the benefit of practising

magistrates.

The interrogation of the accused, in the strict sense of this step in procedure, relates to that stage of the investigation when sufficient evidence implicating a certain person has been assembled, and when—under section 128 of the Criminal Procedure Code of the RSFSR—"the magistrate makes an order formally charging him on stated grounds". At this stage the charge is read over to this person, and he is interrogated as the accused. He may later, of course, be questioned as often as the course of the investigation may require.

In the interests of ascertaining all the facts rapidly, it is possible and legitimate and sometimes essential to question a suspect before he has been formally charged. For example, where a murder has been committed and somebody confesses at the scene of the crime, he must obviously be

questioned at once.

In such a case the person is questioned as a witness, with all the rights and liabilities of such as prescribed in the Criminal Procedure Code, because the Code does not recognise any intermediate position between that of witness and that of the accused.

This naturally hampers the magistrate in putting questions and getting answers. The fact that the questioning is called examining a witness is in itself no encouragement to the suspect to be frank, since he will have

deduced that there is not yet enough evidence to charge him on.

Unfortunately the legislature has not yet tackled this problem, and in practice the magistrate has a difficult task in questioning a suspect about a crime that has been committed and obtaining answers from such a "witness" that at such-and-such a time and place he did or did not commit such-and-such a crime. Even stranger is the examination of such a "witness"—under section 145 of the Criminal Procedure Code*—when under arrest prior to being charged.

It is not within the scope of this article to offer a solution to the urgent legal problem of the procedural position of a person suspected of having

^{*}This section provides that in exceptional cases a suspect may be detained before being charged. If not charged within fourteen days, he must be released.

committed a crime but not yet formally charged. Suffice it to bear in mind that the technique of questioning an accused person, which is in principle applicable once he has been charged, can and should be applied also in questioning a suspect.

We have selected a number of topics of practical importance to

magistrates.

1. Scene of the Examination

THAT the scene of the accused's examination is highly important is an elementary proposition, but one often overlooked in practice, perhaps more often, indeed, than any other feature of the technique of questioning. Practising magistrates are perfectly well aware of it, and you will not be able to get a word in edgeways to them on the subject before they overwhelm you with their grievances about "material conditions". If instead of overcoming the difficulties—which often depends largely on him—the magistrate grows accustomed to inferior surroundings, the result is very bad.

A basic requirement for the scene of the examination is that there should be nothing in the room to distract the accused's attention or worry him: insufficient lighting or too bright a light, too cold or too warm a temperature, noise, a telephone ringing, people walking about the room, and the like. Any distraction of the accused's attention causes lack of concentration and means pauses enabling the accused to adjust himself to the developing situation.

There should be reasonable order and cleanliness in the room, and the magistrate himself should be neat and restrained, otherwise no accused person will respect his questioner. The magistrate should realise that his ability can be gauged by his outward appearance, and that the state of his surroundings and his place of work is an almost infallible guide to the quality of his work.

The magistrate should be alone with the accused to question him. This is a most important requirement of the normal examination. Only in conversation as man to man can the magistrate hope to get frank and voluntary statements. This rule does not, of course, apply to the exceptional case of

questioning children.

It is hardly necessary to show that the presence of third parties creates additional obstacles to eliciting the truth from the accused. He will feel constrained in the presence of strangers, glance at them, lower his voice, and not feel like making a clean breast of it. Let every magistrate remember how awkward he himself feels when he is engaged in private conversation with an acquaintance and suddenly notices that a third person is listening. And the accused is expected to speak of matters that may affect his whole life and disgrace him. Psychologically, he regards the presence of third parties as a monstrous tribunal sitting in judgment on him, which he instinctively resents.

Any experienced magistrate can give examples from his own work where questioning in the presence of third parties proved fruitless but a truthful statement was forthcoming as soon as he and the accused got together alone.

Even if the magistrate has no separate room, this is not an insuperable obstacle, since he can easily fix a time for the examination when the room is free. Mutual consideration and friendly co-operation between magistrates who share a room will readily solve this problem.

In any event, practice has shown that the main thing is that the magistrate should appreciate the importance attaching to the scene of the examination and the requirements that must be met, and he should have the desire and the will to create suitable surroundings.

2. Notes for Questioning

without notes it is impossible to conduct an appropriate and useful examination in a case of any complexity

nation in a case of any complexity.

It is unnecessary to insist on there being notes in every case. In simple cases a few mental notes will suffice. But in complicated cases, especially where several incidents are involved, or where the charge is based on circumstantial evidence, it is absolutely essential to prepare notes.

It will, of course, be objected that many magistrates get along without notes even in complicated cases. This is true, but this is precisely why questioning by such magistrates meets with greater difficulties, does not give the required results, and takes twice as long. In such cases the magistrate, in trying to cover every incident in the charge, wastes more time finding the right place in his file than he would have spent preparing notes.

These notes do not, of course, have to be drawn up as an official document, typed out and signed and so on. It is quite enough to have an outline in the form of rough notes, so long as they are intelligible to the

magistrate himself.

The outline should meet the following requirements: (1) provide for an account of the principal events in the accused's history and for reports on his character; (2) cover every incident in the charge; (3) contain short cross-references to the evidence of other persons and documents in the case; (4) include a formulation of the principal questions to be put to the accused, arranged in logical order; (5) indicate at what stage and in what conditions the accused will be shown the material evidence.

The aim of questions of a biographical nature is not only to elucidate the accused's past and to form an impression of his character, but also to establish mental contact with him and to gauge the right tone for further questioning.

In putting specific questions on the facts of the case, the accused should be invited to make a statement on what he knows about the case, exactly what he did, who else participated, and with what result, and so on. It thus emerges how far the accused is prepared to be frank and what information

on the case he can supply.

The specific questions to be put to the accused should be worked out to fit in with the evidence implicating him. In preparing his notes, the magistrate should so arrange the questions as to ascertain gradually how the accused reacts to this or that piece of evidence. One may proceed either from the stronger pieces of evidence to the weaker, or vice versa. A good tactic is to confront the accused with the strongest evidence, get an admission from him, and then turn to the weaker evidence, on the assumption that having once admitted his guilt, and being more or less disarmed psychologically, he will be disposed to make a truthful statement on all the remaining incidents in the case.

A magistrate who conducts his questioning from notes will not adhere to them mechanically if the questioning takes an unexpected turn. The magistrate's shrewdness and his ability to adjust himself to changed circumstances will prompt him to re-formulate the questions or vary their order.

Notes should not be so used as to give the accused the impression that the magistrate is using a "crib".

3. The Tone of the Questioning

A COURTEOUS but firm tone is the general rule. But such a tone may have many shades. The magistrate must study the accused's individual characteristics and select the tone to which he reacts best and makes truthful answers most freely. No general rule can be laid down. It may merely be said, by and

large, that no one would think of adopting a sympathetic tone towards a gangster with previous convictions, or an authoritative tone towards a youngster accused of manslaughter by negligence.

From the very first questions the magistrate should feel contact with the accused, discover his reaction to a gentle tone or to a stern one, and continue the questioning accordingly, so as not to lose the contact achieved.

In one case an accused woman was literally transformed before the magistrate's eyes by a change of tone. So long as the questioning was mild, she gave truthful evidence quite voluntarily. But when, in seeking to conceal some circumstance, she failed to complete an answer, and the magistrate unwittingly adopted a sterner tone, she shut up like an oyster. The magistrate reverted to a milder tone and again established contact and elicited truthful evidence, though not without difficulty and waste of time.

The least display of annoyance or loss of self-control on the part of the magistrate invariably means a minus mark for him and a plus mark for the accused.

The magistrate must never appear to be in a hurry to get the statement he wants from the accused. No good can come of such an examination. The accused will merely take advantage of the magistrate's impatience to give evidence favourable to himself.

It is of course not easy to find the correct tone. But if one makes no attempt to find it or to reflect on the matter, one is even less likely to find it. It must be carefully sought. The accused should not be asked questions as they ask for your name and address at the post office when you call for a parcel. One must accumulate experience and train one's judgment. This involves an effort, but therein lies the skill of the magistrate, who is inevitably a psychologist also.

4. The Promptness of the Examination

IT IS important that the examination of the accused should follow as soon as possible after the commission or the discovery of the crime.

The more "red-handed" the questioning, the more effective it is as a rule. A statement made by an offender at once, soon after the occurrence of the crime, before he has had time to take refuge in a "defensive reaction" and while the impression of the acts he has committed is still vivid to him, may generally be regarded as more reliable than a statement made a considerable time after the commission of the offence.

The questioning should therefore take place as soon as possible after the commission of the offence, thus preventing the offender from inventing a defence and thinking out a justification. However, this is a general rule, and there are exceptions. In some cases, especially financial ones, it may not be wise to conduct the examination too speedily after the discovery, say, of a serious defalcation or systematic forgery. The results are often more fruitful if documentary and other evidence is first collected and the magistrate is equipped with it when he questions the accused. It must be borne in mind that if the accused is questioned before weighty evidence is available, and pleads not guilty, then he will be reluctant to change his plea even when confronted with more substantial evidence.

Some practitioners rightly believe that in crimes consisting in a single act requiring a sharp effort of the will, or committed under strong emotion, such as robbery or murder or breach of the peace, after which acute depression usually follows when the crime is discovered and the suspect detained, the guilty confess more freely and fully if the examination takes place "red-handed".

Here is an example. There was a murder. Some hours later, one N was detained and immediately questioned, and he admitted that he and V had

committed the murder in order to steal the victim's property. It was not until ten days later that V was detained. His statement conflicted sharply with his accomplice's, and contained a number of premeditated assertions quite skilfully directed towards denying any part in the crime. Thus, the first of the two to be questioned made a truthful statement at once, as he had had no time to consider the implications of the case and think out an exculpatory version of the facts; but the other, who had had plenty of time to prepare for his examination, had been able to think out a story exonerating himself. V's complicity in the murder was afterwards clearly proved.

Accused persons who confess on an examination conducted post-haste not infrequently withdraw their confessions later, under the influence of the fear of punishment or of doubts whether their confessions were not premature and whether they cannot get away with it after all. In such cases particular attention must be paid to confirming and corroborating the accused's

confession by extrinsic evidence.

In crimes that consist in systematic and sustained activity over a period (fraud, embezzlement, defalcations and the like), especially if the clues consist of documents, the accused does not as a rule confess immediately, but waits to see whether the magistrate is in possession of seriously incriminating evidence. Where such an accused person is shown the evidence and concludes that there is substance in the charge, he will confess and not as a rule repudiate his confession afterwards.

The suddenness of the examination may sometimes help to elicit the truth. One accused person, suspected of receiving large bribes, obstinately denied his guilt, knowing that his fellow accused were also keeping their mouths shut. After an interval of some days the magistrate resumed examination. The examination ended late at night, and the accused went home (he was on bail) thinking it would be a long time before he need worry. Early next morning the magistrate unexpectedly visited the accused at his flat, made a further search—which proved fruitless—and demanded his immediate attendance for further questioning. This time the accused at once gave a detailed and truthful statement. When asked why he now confessed, he explained: "The magistrate's arrival, search and questioning were so unexpected that I thought he must have fresh evidence against me, that my fellow accused had probably given me away, so I decided to confess.'

5. The Magistrate's Impartiality and Thorough Knowledge of the Case

TO ELICIT the truth it is essential for the magistrate to be impartial, to be thoroughly familiar with the facts of the case, and to give the accused the impression that all is known.

It is unnecessary to stress the importance of impartiality. The slightest prejudice or bias will inevitably awaken in the accused a reaction directly contrary to the aims of the examination, one of annoyance and exasperation, a spirit of resistance and a reluctance to tell the truth to a magistrate who is obviously trying to trap him.

The magistrate must be familiar with every detail of the case before embarking on an examination of the accused; this is an elementary rule, but there is another side to it not so elementary. It is important to convince the accused that nothing can be concealed from the magistrate, who already knows everything, and that it is therefore useless not to tell the truth.

It is sometimes useful, in order to elicit the truth, to display good will towards the accused and to appeal to his better nature.

In one case, several workmen had testified against the accused to the effect that they had signed receipts without in fact receiving their money

from him. The accused categorically denied his guilt, stating that the evidence of these workmen was false. The magistrate explained that in that case the workmen might have to be prosecuted for perjury, and pointed out to the accused that it would be a mean trick on the workmen if, after profiteering at their expense for a long time, he should be the cause of their being punished. The accused reflected, and confessed.

6. The Magistrate Must Play an Active Part

THERE is nothing easier for a magistrate than transcribing mechanically and dispassionately what the accused says. The attitude of such a magistrate is: "Let the accused say what he likes. In any case the witnesses and documents will prove whether he is guilty." It is, of course, inadmissible to rely solely on the accused's admission of guilt; and no doubt it is better for his guilt to be proved aliunde unsupported by a plea of guilty than for it to be established by a plea of guilty without any corroborating evidence. But the best combination is a plea of guilty confirming the other evidence in the case, and this is what the magistrate should actively strive for.

In one case it was proved that the accused had personally visited a shop and there received a fictitious bill for goods which the shop had not in fact supplied. Two witnesses gave evidence, and there was also expert evidence that the signature on the bill was that of the accused. The case seemed clear. Yet the accused would not admit the fact; and the magistrate nonchalantly signed the deposition as it stood. Thus, notwithstanding the apparently incontestable evidence of these facts, there still remained some doubt to break the chain of incriminating evidence. The Public Prosecutor, in supervising the case, pointed out to the magistrate that any clerk could sign depositions, but that it needed the skill of a magistrate, and not the mechanical recording of answers but active questioning, if a truthful statement were to be elicited from the accused. He added that the magistrate should have adopted a critical attitude towards the accused's answers, should have utilised the material evidence (the bill) and convinced the accused by ocular confrontation that he could not deny the facts. The magistrate subsequently elicited from the accused an admission that he had visited the shop in question.

One accused person, after many denials, finally admitted that he had obtained a large sum of money by fraud. The case was complicated and confused, and the magistrate was entitled to breathe a sigh of relief. Only one matter remained to be cleared up: what had become of the money?

—Spent it, was the accused's laconic answer.

—But you can't have spent all that in a month. When your home was searched, there was no money, nor any objects of value that you might

have bought with the money.

The accused shrugged his shoulders. The magistrate might have let it go at that and concluded the examination; what did it matter where the money had gone so long as it had gone? But the magistrate was of a different calibre. He summoned the accused's wife, and made certain that the accused could not have spent such a sum on his family—and incidentally found out that the wife was not privy to her husband's criminal activities. The magistrate decided to tell her how much money her husband had squandered and to try to discover through her how the money had been spent. The woman reacted sharply to this question, and it was apparent that she suspected her husband of spending the money on the maintenance of an illegitimate family. The magistrate replied that he knew nothing for certain on this matter, but that he would arrange for her to confront her husband. The wife agreed, and at the confrontation she cross-examined her husband so briskly that he (being genuinely fond of his family) finally admitted that

most of the money had gone to others, his superiors. Thus the whole crime was exposed.

Sometimes it is good tactics quietly to record the accused's evidence even though it is clearly false; and in such cases the more untrue the statement is, the easier it is to elicit a truthful statement later. One must insist on the accused's signing his statement, and thereupon detect him in a lie. This will impress him and help to elicit the truth from him.

7. The Skilful Use of Material Evidence

IF THE magistrate at once discloses to the accused all the material evidence in his possession, he will in the great majority of cases be making a serious mistake. He must know how to utilise each piece of material evidence so as to ensure its hitting the mark.

In one case, a theatrical manager had disposed of several hundred yards of cloth while rationing was in force. When stocktaking was due to take place (the rationing system having been abolished in the meantime), the manager, fearing discovery, bought an equivalent quantity of cloth, placed it in the store, and told the auditors that for the last two years he had been supplying actors with short lengths of cloth on loan against coupons, but that he had not had them returned at the due date and had only recently succeeded in getting them back; and in confirmation he produced written statements from several actors.

The magistrate did not content himself with the auditors' certificate that the requisite quantity of cloth was there, but inspected it personally, and discovered that in addition to short lengths which might have been returned by actors in return for loans previously made to them, there were two sixty-yard rolls.

The inagistrate took down the accused's testimony, got him to sign it, and then produced the two rolls.

—Recognise these?

—Yes. I was too lazy to cut them up. I never thought you'd inspect the cloth.

My mistake. You can put down I plead guilty now.

8. Proper Corroboration of the Accused's Admission

THAT the accused should confess is an achievement, particularly in cases where there is no direct evidence of the suspect's guilt. The magistrate may congratulate himself; but it is not conclusive as to the result of the case. To ensure a proper result, the confession should supply the magistrate with other evidence which so confirms it that the accused feels himself bound by it and does not lightly repudiate it on further examination by magistrate or court: the latter would be particularly unfortunate.

It does happen that the accused admits his guilt at the beginning of his examination, but changes his mind before the end and starts denying it. The proper procedure, therefore, is for the magistrate to enter the very first admission in the depositions, get the accused to sign it, and have his signature witnessed by the Public Prosecutor, or at any rate by a fellow magistrate, to obviate any later assertion by the accused that his admission was "forced", "misunderstood" and so on.

One magistrate relates from experience that in a serious case of theft the accused confessed on examination, but asked to defer signing his deposition until the following day, on grounds of fatigue. The magistrate agreed; and the next day the accused categorically declared he was not guilty.

It may even be important to have outsiders witness the accused's statement. Once a magistrate had taken an important statement from an accused person and wanted to have it witnessed, but at that moment neither the Prosecutor nor another magistrate was in the office. All he could do was to

invite a citizen, who was visiting the office by chance, to witness it. In the presence of this citizen the deposition was read over, the accused confirmed it, and the citizen certified it with his signature. In court the accused repudiated her depositions, alleging that she had never given any such evidence and had signed the depositions without knowing their contents. The citizen concerned was summoned to court, and convinced the court that the accused's statement had been properly recorded by the magistrate.

In recording the accused's admissions one must check them carefully against the known facts and the logic of events. Sometimes a plea of guilty flows logically from a number of ascertained facts, and by the course of his questioning the magistrate can lead the accused to this conclusion. The accused may be ready enough to admit isolated facts having no direct bearing on the charge, and these facts may be such as to culminate naturally in a plea of guilty.

In one case there had been large-scale embezzlement in a factory. The accountant had made out cheques for fictitious purposes, the director had signed them, and the money had been personally drawn from the bank and shared out among those in the conspiracy. The accountant asserted that the director had been in the plot and had taken the lion's share.

The director categorically denied guilt, declaring that he could admit only to having been negligent in signing a few blank cheques before leaving on a business trip just before pay-day, and that the accountant had taken advantage of this.

The magistrate had the cheques examined by experts. It turned out that as far as some of them were concerned it could not be determined whether they had or had not been signed before the body of the cheque was filled in, but as far as three of them were concerned there was positive evidence that the director had signed them in a completed state, since his signature intersected and overlay the text. The accused might, of course, attribute this too to "negligence", and allege that he had not read the text of the cheque when signing it.

The magistrate put his questions in this sequence:

- —Do you sign many cheques?
- -No, not many. A few each month, because almost our only outgoing is wages.
- —The procedure for signing cheques is well known to you?
- --Of course. But I've already told you I blame myself for trusting the accountant too far and leaving him blank signed cheques for wages when I had to go away on business. It was a mistake on my part.
- —Very well. We shall come to your mistake later on. Now, when you signed cheques already filled in, did you check what purpose the money was wanted for?
- —I most certainly did.
- —And you say that you seldom signed cheques except on pay-days, so that you would remember such cases, especially if they were recent and the amounts were large?
- —Yes, of course.
- —What purposes were these cheques drawn for during the last three months, one for 30,000 and two for 20,000 roubles? The dates on these cheques do not correspond with the pay-days.
- —But those are precisely the cheques that I signed blank, trusting that rascal of an accountant.
- —And if they had been filled in, you certainly would have known what purpose they had been drawn for?
- —I've told you already that of course I should.

—So that if you had signed these cheques already filled in, you would have been bound to know that nothing was then due to anybody?

—But I didn't sign those cheques filled in.

—Perhaps not: but answer the question. If you had signed these cheques filled in, it would show that you were in league with the accountant, wouldn't it? Wouldn't that be the right inference?

—It would be if I had signed them filled in, but I didn't.

-You did: and here is the expert's report. Now you have only to admit

your participation in the embezzlement.

This systematic questioning led to the accused being unable to attribute his having signed these three cheques to "negligence". In such cases it is advisable to record questions and answers in the depositions and, exceptionally, to get the accused to sign each answer.

IN CONCLUSION, magistrates may say that they get only too plentiful advice on the tactics of questioning an accused person, and that since none of it admits of universal application it is difficult to follow it in practice.

It is not easy to acquire skill as a magistrate. A good magistrate understands that, as Vishinsky says, conducting an examination is waging war. And anyone who wants to win a war must be well prepared and must conduct it with resolution, foresight and a will to victory.

From SOTSIALISTICHESKAYA ZAKONNOST, 4, 1950.
Translated by Dudley Collard.

ARCHÆOLOGY LECTURE

Professor V. Gordon Childe, Director of the Institute of Archæology in the University of London, has kindly agreed to lecture on Soviet archæology, on November 22, at 14 Kensington Square, London, W.8. Details will be announced in our autumn issue.

A. N. NESMEYANO V

President of the Academy of Sciences of the USSR

A Biographical Note

Academician Alexander Nikolayevich NESMEYANOV, who succeeded the late Sergei Vavilov (died January 25, 1951) as President of the Academy of Sciences of the USSR, was elected to that position by unanimous vote at a general meeting of the Academy of Sciences on February 16, 1951.

Of Russian nationality, A. N. Nesmeyanov was born in 1899. He studied at Moscow University, graduating in 1922. After graduation he stayed on in the Department of Organic Chemistry as a research worker under Academician N. D. Zelinsky, one of whose most outstanding pupils he is. From the beginning of his scientific activity his main field has been the

From the beginning of his scientific activity his main field has been the chemistry of organometallic compounds. In the course of many years' work on this, he and his pupils have worked out important and original methods of synthesis of organic compounds of various metals (magnesium, zinc, cadmium, aluminium, mercury and others). His most notable work in this connection was his discovery in 1929 of a new diazo-method of synthesis of aromatic mercuro-organic compounds; this method is now in use in almost all the organometallic laboratories in the world. The original diazomethod of synthesis has been extended by Nesmeyanov, his pupils and other investigators so as to produce many other organometallic compounds.

The widespread development in the Soviet Union of the chemistry of organometallic compounds owes much to the scientific work of A. N. Nesmeyanov and his school; this development is linked up with various uses of these compounds in the national economy, for anti-detonators, medicinal

preparations and other specialised products.

In the course of more than thirty years' research, he and his co-workers have published over eighty scientific works. In 1943 he was awarded a First-class Stalin Prize.

Academician Nesmeyanov, up to his election, was Rector of Moscow University, where he holds the Chair of Organic Chemistry. Also he has been since 1939 Director of the Institute of Organic Chemistry of the Academy of Sciences, and is personally in charge of the Laboratory of Organometallic Chemistry, which he set up in 1935.

He became a member of the Communist Party in 1944. Since 1947 he has been Chairman of the Committee on Stalin Prizes for Science and Invention. He is a Deputy to the Supreme Soviet of the USSR and also a Deputy to the Supreme Soviet of the RSFSR, and is Vice-Chairman of the latter.

Abridged from VESTNIK AKAD. NAUK SSSR, 1951, 3

THE RIVERS

By Ewart Milne

"We are using atomic energy for our economic plans, in our economic interests. We have set atomic energy to perform great tasks of peaceful construction, we intend to put atomic energy to use in blasting mountains, changing the courses of rivers, watering deserts, and laying new life-lines in places where the foot of man has seldom trod. That is what we are doing . . ."

Vyshinsky, November 11, 1949.

SSS

In the land of White Gold,
In the land of yellow clay, of blue grass,
In the land of shallow rivers, of deep,
The centuries slept
On a great rock,
On Bald Mountain;
How could the rivers meet, how could they join,
By the rock prevented? Brittle clay, dry grass;
How could the rivers kiss, how could they embrace,
In the land of White Gold, of bitter water and clear?

Sadly two rivers, bending together,
Turned aside and wandered,
One to the cold darkness, grey skies
Of the northern tundra;
To the saltlands the other.
Sucked by the greedy sands, dispersed in weak deltas,
How could the rivers kiss, how could they embrace,
By the rock prevented:
By Bald Mountain, scrub and harsh grass,
Where slept the centuries.

Thus far the story
From mammoths to nomads;
From Ming Emperors to Chinghis Khan
Bending his bow at eagles:
But now sing the man, the engineer scientist,
Who strikes on the rock tall as the Pamirs:
Sing the centuries split, the rolling thunder,
Sing the shattering sun that burns Bald Mountain
In a death of fractions, precision of lightning,
As the surgeon's knife
Cuts the wart from a thumb.

Trickling at first the astonished river Runs to the bowels of earth uncovered Into a cauldron screaming in madness, Roaring then and overfilling, Leaping with a shout of long lost lover To glut on his bride and murmur to her: In a thunder of rock and centuries fallen Two rivers in harness, two in one forever, Flow limpid and meek by banks of destiny, Bald Mountain now a sparkling lake As a river that ran north, runs south.

Now men more numerous
Than sheep and cattle of seven centuries
Since Chinghis Khan
Bent his bow at eagles
Dispel the cold dark of the northern tundra;
Turbines and generators under the blue sky glitter,
Powering fertile valleys with cables and vineyards
Where once rode the horseman with the yak-tail banner.
Steppe and ricefield join hands
Across dynamos, viaducts and the cities of nomads.

THE SOVIET ELECTIONS

We print below a selection of sketches taken from the Soviet press early this year, to illustrate more or less documentarily two aspects of a Soviet election the canvasser and the candidate—both very different from ours in this country.

THE CANVASSER By Vera Panova



on an early December evening, when the white, red and blue neon lights go on in the shop windows, a great to and fro of canvassers begins on the staircases of houses in the town of N-sk. Up and down the stairs go the canvassers, of both sexes and all ages, holding leaflets, typewritten biographies of the candidates, invitation tickets to concerts, to lectures, to meetings introducing the candidates. They ring bells, they go into people's homes, and so far as their eloquence permits they canvass for the bloc of communists and non-party men. The life of the family he is visiting unfolds before the canvasser; their personalities, their relations, their thoughts, feelings, joys and sorrows, their little everyday grievances and their great plans for the future become familiar to him; and a thoughtful canvasser, given to analysis and generalisation, will learn a lot from his election work and his meetings with these people who greet him with no ostentation or ceremony, showing their homely everyday faces and making no attempt to conceal their humdrum ordinary preoccupations.

☆

KATYA OLEKHNOVITCH goes from flat to flat. She has been allotted a large late-nineteenth-century building, so densely covered with plaster ornamentation all over its façade that there is no making out its architecture: there it stands, a four-storey structure, smothered from top to bottom in all sorts of leaves, rosettes and meaningless squiggles. The house has another peculiarity, too: it is always being repainted. Once upon a time it used to be grey; then it was repainted cream—it looked like a cake. Then they painted it lemon yellow; then pistachio green; and finally, last summer, blush pink. The district housing department considers this an exceptionally fine building and strives to keep it looking its best.

Katya has to visit the third and fourth floors—four flats. She does not often go to flat 5. The first time she rang the bell a rapid pattering of feet was heard behind the door, and two children's voices shouted in chorus:

-Who's there?

—A canvasser, said Katya.

There was a whispered consultation behind the door, and then one of the voices said: —There's no one here.

—When will they be back? asked Katya.

—We don't know, said the voices, shouting each other down. Mother and Dad are canvassers. They've gone to talk to the voters. Katya smiled and went on to the next door.

AND NOW she is feeling terribly nervous at this brown rexine-covered door.

Flat 6 is a problem.

As soon as you come into the hall you find yourself surrounded by books. Books on shelves, books in cases, hundred of book-backs of every colour, thick and thin. And in every room it is the same wherever you look. In the study of the master of the house there are more books than ever: all four walls are lined with them, and there are great wadges of newspapers on the table and on the grand piano. These people must read everything in the world.

The old lady who opens the door isn't too bad, really. True, "What on earth do you keep on coming for, girl?" is written all over her face; but she

takes pity on Katya and speaks grudgingly but not unkindly.

—My daughter-in-law is out, and you've no chance of ever finding her in. They're swamped with election work, too. They're giving performances at the canvassing centres, and she's very much in demand. She's their best coloratura, you know. My son's at home. Shall I call him?

-No, please don't bother, says Katya hurriedly. You needn't; here are some tickets, three of them, they're for a lecture, perhaps you wouldn't mind

passing them on.

But the son has already heard her voice, and comes out into the hall. He is too well-bred not to appear when someone comes to see him on business.

—Good evening, Ekaterina Stepanovna. Do come in.

He has even remembered her full name. He politely helps her off with her coat. Why couldn't he have pretended not to know she was there? He could have stayed quietly at his manuscripts and she would just as quietly have stolen away.

-Do sit down. Tickets? Thank you so much. And what is the subject of

the lecture?

- —The subject is the struggle for peace, says Katya. And these are the biographies of the candidates, Comrade Zolotykh and Comrade Solodova. We haven't had time to duplicate them yet. (How idiotically I'm talking, it sounds as if we were going to duplicate the candidates. Oh, this is dreadful. . . .) When we've got them duplicated I'll let you have a copy each. Meanwhile, a preliminary introduction—
- -I have already been introduced to Konstantin Ivanovich Zolotykh,

remarks the host.

—To his biography?
—No. To Konstantin Ivanovich himself. But I shall be happy to hear his

biography too. Pray proceed.

And he sets his face into an expression of the utmost attention. But expression or no expression, Katya is well aware that he looks on her as a schoolgirland is bound to death with her company

and is bored to death with her company. . . .

If they would only ask me for something, she thinks longingly as she goes up to the fourth floor. I mean, I might do something about getting their flat redecorated, for example. I'd go straight to the housing office, and I'd make the brigadier come with me, and I'd get it done straight away, and then they'd see I can be some use to them, too.

But they never ask for anything . . .

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THE ASKER is Maria Pavlovna Shestova. There are other voters besides Maria Pavlovna living in the large communal flat 7. But they all pale into insignificance beside her.

—Oh, another lecture, says Maria Pavlovna. There are too many lectures altogether. You ought to put on something different. A concert. The

Piatnitsky Choir.

-But, Maria Pavlovna, the Piatnitsky Choir is in Moscow. We've got to rely on local talent.

-Well, can't you invite them here from Moscow? When I was a girl I used

to love singing folk songs in a choir.

—I'll mention it to the brigadier. If there is any chance at all, we'll——

—Yes, you mention it to him, do. And then I'd like to subscribe to a fashion magazine. Our post office won't take subscriptions to fashion magazines, for some reason. (Maria Pavlovna works as a cutter in a ladies' wear shop.)

—Certainly, Maria Pavlovna; I'll find out how you can subscribe to a fashion

magazine. D'you mind if I read you our candidates' biographies?

By all means. Please do, says Maria Pavlovna.

The pair of them sit down at a table covered with a bright blue cloth, beneath a ceiling lamp with a frilled orange shade.

—Konstantin Ivanovich Zolotykh, reads Katya rapidly in her melodious little voice. Born in 1901. . . .

Maria Pavlovna, stern-faced and schoolmistressy with her fine head of greying hair, listens, gazing fixedly at Katya's face.

—All right, she says. He'll do. Go on.

-The next is Comrade Solodova.

—Is that the one from the district housing office? We made a costume for her. Very slim. Figure like a schoolgirl. And she a doctor of medicine, too. Well?

Katya reads Comrade Solodova's biography.

—Just a moment, says Maria Pavlovna. It doesn't say anything about her home background, whether or not she's married, how many children she's got.

—Maria Pavlovna, what possible difference can——

—Pardon me, it makes a great deal of difference. If she's got a lot of children, why take her away from her home duties? Let her bring up her children.

-You mean that if a woman's got children she can't be socially active?

—Depends how many children she's got. If she's got a whole crowd, let her work in the housing office and that's enough. Motherhood's a social activity, too, don't forget. Fancy you wanting to give her a third job without the least regard to her home life! She's as thin as can be already. Everyone in our workshop commented on it when we took her measurements.

Whether from the heat of the stove or the difficulties of a canvasser's work, little beads of perspiration begin to gather on Katya's nose.

—Very well, Maria Pavlovna. I'll see what I can find out about her home background.

—And let me know.

-And I'll let you know. . . .

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FLAT 8 is a nice place if ever there was one, a real haven of refuge for the canvasser's weary soul.

Once upon a time, in the first post-revolution years, a whole street in Rogues' Village (as the settlement across the river used to be called) burned down. Four families from the burnt-out hovels were re-settled in this elegant large flat.

Thirty years have passed. The settlers have grown older, they have married off their children, who in turn have had children, brought them up and educated them, studied, gone to the wars, come back again—one of them

never did come back. A few have migrated to other towns, some have moved to other houses; but the hard core of the old families has stayed here. And though they cannot always agree whose turn it is to scrub out the passage, and there is sometimes friction over such matters, still they have formed a lasting friendship, almost a kinship, and on anything important they stick together. After all, say what you like, thirty years of life together is no joke. . . .

When Katva first called on them, the household was already involved in electioneering. Muravieva, who acted as landlady, was reading Stalin's biography aloud in the evenings. Muravieva's husband was chairman of the local liaison committee, and she was a sort of women's organiser. She was already getting near the end of the biography, so she asked Katya to bring some book telling about Lenin and Stalin in a literary way. And Katya consulted the Institute librarian and brought The Defence of Tsaritsyn.

The kitchen in flat 8 is something like a club-room. Towards evening the hissing of the primus stoves dies down, the polished primuses are lined up in a gleaming row on the range, and housemother Muravieva—a huge, black-browed, handsome woman weighing a good fifteen stone—comes in to see whether the floor and the sink are thoroughly clean. If not, there is likely to be trouble, but it is soon smoothed over.

—Let's read, says Muravieva in her masterful, rather masculine voice. Nyura, call them all in. (Nyura is the domestic worker for the household in general.)

When Katya appears she is sat down next to housemother Muravieva, who pours her out a cup of tea with her own mighty hands. The kitchen is chock-full of people; even Volodya, a young locksmith who has just graduated from the technical college and who is generally speaking too bashful to sit in the kitchen with the women, is present in honour of the pretty canvasser. He leans against the door with a cigarette, not uttering a word and gazing at Katya.

Katya drinks her tea with pleasure. She likes these people's company; here she feels wanted and needed.

—As I was saying, says housemother Muravieva's husband. If Dad's house hadn't got burned down we'd be living in River Village now, Motya, and voting for Josif Vissarionovich himself.

—As a matter of fact, replies one of the tenants, it isn't really fair for River Village to be enjoying such an honour. This is the centre, the oldest part

of the town. This is where the town started.

-How can you say such things? retorts housemother Muravieva. How did this centre of yours distinguish itself before the Revolution, may I ask? Her speech is rounded and incisive. She has—to her own admiration—a natural talent for oratory.

—For example, she continues, you know as well as I do what kind of a

reputation the shop across the road used to have in those days.

—Oh, no decent woman could pass that way in the evenings, another tenant chimes in.

-Oh, and what about the Village? Street fighting and all the rest of it.

-Well? What of it? That was on account of the workers' general conditions. Katechka, you should have seen what a hole River Village used to be when I was a girl! Dirt all over the place. Ramshackle hovels, and not the slightest bit of culture* at all. The children even had to cross the bridge to this part of town to get to a school. All the fine things we have now, all the industry, that's only thanks to the Soviets, thanks to Comrade Stalin. . .

^{* &}quot;Culture" has a far broader meaning in Russian than in English, embracing cleanliness, hygiene, good manners, etc., as well as learning and taste.

LEAVING the house, Katya often meets—on the stairs or outside in the street —a massive elderly man in a fur hat, with a short walking-stick, marching along with a slow, measured tread. He breathes loudly as he goes up the stairs. Once Katya saw him ring the bell at a ground-floor flat; to the question "Who's there?" he replied in a resounding, portentous voice: "A canvasser!" He plainly dislikes Katya. He looks at her disapprovingly and even resentfully when with an apologetic and helpless smile she runs down the stairs towards him on light and noiseless feet. Perhaps he is thinking: How can this be? This young person, inexperienced, with no knowledge of life, this whipper-snapper, entrusted with the same serious work as I, a respectable elderly man suffering from shortage of breath? This thought is clearly reflected in his eyes, and this is why Katya smiles so apologetically. And to make matters worse, she is wearing a specially coquettish head-dress tonight, a white fleecy shawl, as fine as lace, thrown over her black fur cap. She had bought it out of her scholarship money; she just couldn't resist it. She looks a proper Queen Tamara in her flat little black cap with her white shawl falling so prettily over her shoulders; the men turn to look at her, and Katya can't help noticing. But what is she to do? Why should she be to blame if she wants to run instead of walking, if she is Queen Tamara, if she is only twenty?

There is Sasha Demyanov waiting for her outside the gates of her house. She sees his tall figure in the short jacket and army-style cap from a long way off. He sees her too, and comes towards her with purposely unhurried steps. In the beginning he used to explain away these meetings like this:

—I've been seeing Sergei home. He's just gone in. Then I saw you coming...
—He's only just come home? she would ask severely. Where's he been hanging about all this time?

—Oh, he's been over at my place.

But by this time he finds it awkward to proffer that sort of explanation for these encounters. And she doesn't ask for any reason. She has got to take things the way they are, it seems, wordlessly, unquestioningly.

And the way things are comes to this: he can't live without seeing her. But can she live without seeing him? She probably can. Of course she can. What should she want with this schoolboy? Her younger brother's friend, two years younger than she is. He's just eighteen, he will be voting for the first time. And she is a grown-up woman, a second-year student, to all intents and purposes the head of the family. A girl men turn round to stare at. And he is a boy with a half-childish face, in a ridiculous cap with ear-flaps. . . .

But he takes a step forward and she submissively takes a step in the same direction. She walks beside him unquestioningly and unsurprised. It seems that's the way it's got to be.

They cross the road and walk slowly down the boulevard, deserted at this late hour. Tall elms, frosted over, are ranged along both sides of the boulevard; the frost shimmers in the dark like magic. The empty benches gleam whitely. An occasional passer-by crosses their path.

She is tired. She has had a hard day: lectures, laboratory, Komsomol meeting, canvassing. She ought to go home: study, housework, Seryozha, Mother. And supper. But she walks on and on. She could walk on till

morning.

Sasha is silent. He hardly looks at her. An occasional glance, and he looks away again, as if the sight of her scares him. And she, after saying nothing for a few moments, grows embarrassed at his silence and starts talking in a low, breathless voice unlike her own, speaking meaningless words. And she walks on and on.

It seems that's the way it's got to be.

COMRADE STALIN is registered as candidate for the Stalin Election District in River Village; but Sasha has to vote in District 4 where he lives. The District 4 candidate is Comrade Zolotykh, chairman of the industrial co-operative. Sasha went to the canvassing centre when Zolotykh spoke to the voters. He is undoubtedly an educated and experienced man. He has an artificial left leg—he lost his own in the Patriotic War—and his chest is bedecked with medal ribbons. He spoke well on the Peace Congress. All this is true, and Sasha would willingly vote for him, were it not that a stone's throw away in River Village they will be voting for Comrade Stalin. And just because a fellow doesn't happen to be registered in River Village...

He confided his thoughts to Seryozha Olekhnovich, who dropped in to see him after school.

- -You see, if there was any sort of chance-
- —There is a chance, said Seryozha, after a short silence.
- --What chance?
- —Call yourself an elector? said Seryozha, who was only just sixteen and envious of his friend's being now of age. Haven't read the voting regulations, have you?
- -Of course I have.
- -You have to know them, Comrade Elector. Not just cast your eye over them: know them. I mean understand what they say.
- -There's nothing in there about any of this, said Sasha.
- —Oh, Sasha, what a blockhead you are! wailed Seryozha, clutching his brows in despair.
- —Half a minute, said Sasha. Where have the regulations got to? I cut them out of the paper, didn't I? Hang on a minute.

He started rummaging on the bedside table, and then on the bookshelves, but he couldn't find a thing.

- —They're nailed up on your gate, said Seryozha. Run down and read them.
- -No, you tell me.
- —I won't do anything of the sort. You've got to work it out for yourself, same as I did. I read between the lines.
- --It's dark out, said Sasha. I couldn't so much as read the lines, let alone between them.
- -I'll show you a light, don't worry.

Putting on their coats, they went out into the street. Sasha began to read the paper nailed up on the gate. Serozha helped by shining his pocket-torch along the lines. The house superintendent, a white arm-band round her sleeve, came up and stood behind them; a passer-by stopped, curious to know what was being read.

- —Got it! cried Sasha. Now for the polling station. Let's get this over and done with.
- -Come on, said Seryozha.

The polling station was nearby, just around the corner. A middle-aged woman was sitting at a table covered with a red cloth. Lists of registered voters hung on the walls.

- —Do you want to register? asked the woman.
- —No. I've already registered, said Sasha rather timidly. Could you give me a travel certificate? I'm going away.
- -Are you going to be gone long? You might be back in time.
- —No, I shan't be back so soon. I'm going for a whole month.
- -On duty?
- -On du—. began Sasha; but he remembered in that time that she might ask to see his travel warrant, and corrected himself: On family business.
- -Got a girl friend in River Village? asked the woman with a slight smile.

She took Sasha's identity book and wrote him out a certificate.

—Good luck! she said.

—There you are! said Seryozha reassuringly as they left the polling station. She understood the whole game, see? You're not the first, old chap, nor the last either.

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on December 17 Sasha got up, by the alarm, at three in the morning. He put on his best suit and a new red-and-brown check scarf. His shoes had been cleaned and his goloshes washed the night before. He'd been to the hair-dresser's the night before, too, got his hair cut and been scented with eau de cologne. The eau de cologne had proved unmercifully strong. Sasha's whole room was drenched in an all-pervading fragrance.

He went out into the street. It was still night. The street lamps were on. It was snowing a little. The whole town—roads, pavements, roofs and cornices—was covered with clean, fresh snow like blue-tinged linen from the wash. There were a lot of people in the streets; men and women were coming out of gates and doorways and hurrying busily off, obviously heading for their polling stations. The snow crackled agreeably underfoot. A tram clanged past all lit up; its roof too was snow-covered, and there was snow on the bumpers. The carriages were full of people, voters who, like Sasha, had got themselves travel certificates and were going to River Village to vote for Stalin.

—That's the way of it, is it? thought Sasha. Looks as if I'm not going to get there first. More likely last. Shouldn't have got up so late.

He ran after the tram and jumped on. The windows of the carriage were patterned with magnificent frost designs—so much prettier than real palm leaves or lace—silver and crystal and white fleece; and it all got damp and sparkled, thawing in the warmth of human breath. The people in the tram were smiling; their fresh-washed faces red with frost, their smiles seemed to say: What lovely weather, what a splendid frost, what a marvellous day it's going to be!

The conductress, a middle-aged woman in a warm shawl, wearing thick woollen gloves with the thumb and first finger of the right-hand glove cut off for greater ease in handling tickets and change, passed down the carriage. A man in a white fur jacket asked sternly as he got his ticket: And when are you going to vote? Counting out the change, she replied: My polling station is just by the tram depot; I'll go and vote all right when we get there on the way back.

The tram raced and clanged towards the bridge through the suburban streets. The passengers' voices had a solemn, rather subdued, early morning sound; and when someone jumped on and yelled suddenly from the back platform: Ticket, conductress! everyone turned round and stared disapprovingly at the intruder.

There was a queue standing in front of the brilliantly lighted House of Culture in River Village. They were people who either had not gone to bed at all or had got up at some unearthly hour and hurried off there so as to be the first to drop their ballot papers with Stalin's name on them into the urn. The splendid building with its spacious halls had been kept open all night for them, but many had refused to enter the hospitably open door of the main entrance, preferring to wait at the door of the polling station next door. They wanted to vote as early as possible, if not in the first ten, at least in the first hundred. And the very first of them all was a tiny little old man, who had come with a folding stool on which he now sat enthroned, his back to the door, facing the queue, his felt-booted legs swinging and his lively eves eagerly scanning the crowd.

The little old man was thoroughly equipped for a long wait out in the cold air. Someone's loving hands had clothed him in a sheepskin coat over his neat winter clothes, tied the tapes of his earflaps under his chin, and wrapped a woman's fleecy shawl round his neck instead of a scarf. People standing near him said he had been brought by a young girl, who had carried his folding stool too; she was his great-great-granddaughter; and he was a hundred and two years old, having been born, as he had himself announced, in 1848. Either the little old man had been guilty of a slight exaggeration in the excitement of the moment, or else he was enviably well preserved: for no one would have guessed his age to be so impressive, for all his fragility and transparency (the skin on his face was as white and thin as cigarette paper).

He seemed to feel no fatigue after his sleepless night; he was chattering and joking, and plainly very worried lest anyone should contest his place at the head of the queue. When a smart Army major appeared, with a couple of dozen medal ribbons and the star of a Hero of the Soviet Union showing beneath his unbuttoned greatcoat, and passed on up the queue, the old man got nervous. He began to fidget on his stool, and said jealously: We can see them, Comrade. We can see them all right, your decorations. We haven't got any such, true enough. But our feelings are the same as yours, Comrade,

make no mistake.

The major smiled and said: Don't worry. I don't mean to claim your place. It's just that I have to catch a train at seven. And the little old man relaxed and started inquiring amiably how the major had got his award of the title Hero of the Soviet Union.

Just then an expectant mother, eight months gone, made her majestic approach to the head of the queue. The little old man pretended not to have noticed her, and went on talking to the major; but his conversation grew offhand and spasmodic and he kept taking sideways glances at her until at last, unable to bear it, he turned to her with the question: What letter are you, madam?

—A, replied she.

—Oh, I'm so glad, said the little old man. I'm U, at the other end of the alphabet, so we'll go to different tables and not get in each other's way.

And as for going in at the door, you'll do me the kindness to let me pass in first, eh?

M M

sasha stood quietly in the queue. The square was brightly lighted and filled with people. In the blaze of the electric street lamps the red banners on the building glowed with ethereal fire, and from among their scarlet flutterings a huge portrait of Stalin, framed in bright lights, smiled down. A searchlight beam rose up by the river and stood upright in the sky. Solid and brilliant at the base, it grew transparent higher up and was lost in the dark, cloudy sky. For a while it remained motionless, then it came slowly down and lay flat across the square, magically lighting up the faces of the crowd. The snow-flakes drifting through it glittered like diamonds. All of a sudden the sky was filled with noise. Sasha raised his head: under the night clouds three planes were flying almost unseen, three red dots and three green, moving east.

If anyone were to have asked Sasha then: What is going on inside you, lad? he would have been quite unable to frame any articulate reply. His heart was full of so many things—a festive joy, a solemn awareness of the duty he was from then on called upon to do, a pride in his coming-of-age—the vast pride of citizenship—and happiness to be living in this wonderful world, where everything is clear and wise, humane and just, where such snow and such light exist. He was thinking of his father's dying so that this

life should not perish, so that it should be preserved in all its beauty; he was thinking it was of his father that Stalin had said: Eternal glory to the heroes fallen in the struggle for freedom and independence of our Motherland! And for a moment hot, proud tears welled up inside him. He remembered the hard years of his orphanhood; he remembered his stepfather, and he thought: Never, never shall I live like that. I shall live as my father lived, and even better if I can. I'll try to live so that Stalin himself would say: You're leading a good life, Alexander Demyanov.

And everything he was thinking and feeling was shot through with another feeling still, all-pervading, irrepressible, a feeling that would not for an instant leave him, the flaming restlessness of first love. And without

knowing it, he smiled.

X I

THE DOORS swung open and the people began to mount the broad, brightly lighted steps.

—IZVESTIA, 11.2.51

SIX CANDIDATES

CE#32

1. The Miner from Prokopyevsk

PROKOPYEVSK is known as "the pearl of the Kuzbas". Extremely rich deposits of high-quality coking coal lie hidden in its soil. First-class mechanised pits and well-organised miners' collectives have carried the fame of Prokopyevsk far and wide across the Union.

At almost any pit in the town you may meet, among the young Stakhanovite workers, recent pupils of *IVAN MAXIMOVICH FOMINYKH*, chargehand at the Voroshilov pit and candidate for election to the Supreme Soviet of the Republic.

Comrades Teplukhin, chargehand from the Stalin pit, Maslov, hewer from the Black Hill pit, Aglivulin, hewer from the Kalinin pit, and dozens of other miners have been through an excellent schooling in Ivan Maximovich's

sector of the coal face.

Honoured Miner Fominykh is a Siberian born and bred. A native of the Altai region, he was a farmhand before the Revolution, and afterwards spent many years as a hunter in the taiga. In 1921, the newly organised collective farm directed him to the Kuzbas for six months to help Prokopyevsk miners. He grew very keen on mining, and when his six months was up he asked permission to stay on at the mine; there he had made his way with distinction through all the stages of a miner's career, from haulier to chargehand, and became famous for his Stakhanovite achievements.

The Voroshilov pit is the largest in Prokopyevsk. Fominykh has worked there since it was first opened in 1933. The history of the pit and the miner's

life story have become closely intertwined.

In 1940, experiments were concluded in Prokopyevsk on the shield invented by Professor Chinakal. The new shield system of mining on steeply falling seams revolutionised the Kuzbas coal industry. Men were needed to give a practical demonstration of its advantages. The first of the Voroshilov miners to begin work under the shield was Ivan Maximovich Fominykh. He did everything in his power to convince his comrades at the coal face of the

need to reorganise their work. He soon achieved outstanding results, and the

productivity of his brigade rose to 14,000 tons a month.

This Honoured Miner's organising abilities were given particularly wide opportunities for development after the war. Ivan Maximovich's brigade now consists of young miners. He is old enough to be the father of any one of them, but in knowledge of the trade and in productive skill such miners at Makarov, Fefelov and Khairulin run his standard very close. Fominykh has taught his pupils at the coal face by day and in the hostel at night. He has drawn attention to their mistakes, corrected them and explained the reasons for ill success. His brigade is now considered one of the best in the mine; it has completed the post-war Five Year Plan in three and a half years and produced a surplus of over 150,000 tons of coal.

Last year the press reported the Stakhanovites' proposal that the maintenance of machinery and equipment in industrial enterprises should be made a matter of emulation. Ivan Maximovich Fominykh, member of the mine's Trade Union Committee, proved to the committee that support for this proposal would open the door to enormous economies. He assumed personal responsibility for the maintenance of the shield, the electric drills and the other equipment used in his sector, and declared that all repairs

needed would be done by the brigade itself.

The miners unanimously supported their comrade's initiative, and the pit is now saving tens of thousands of roubles on machinery repairs. The miners' sense of responsibility for the maintenance of equipment has been

enhanced, and accidents and stoppages have become a rarity.

The Voroshilov pit has for many years been engaged in emulation with the workers of the Stalin pit, the largest in the Kuzbas. We went there a few days ago to sign an agreement on socialist emulation in 1951. Ivan Maximovich Fominykh was one of the delegates, and the miners listened to him very attentively. He outlined to them the principles that should guide the lives of the workers at our two pits today. His speech was an appeal for the mastery of new skills.

"We pledge our word," said Comrade Fominykh, "to carry out our 1951 obligations with honour; to produce 20,000 tons of coal above plan; to cover an extra 200 metres along the main seam; and to raise our labour productivity by 10 per cent as against 1950." Enthusiastic applause from the

audience greeted the Prokopyevsk miner's speech.

-F. TYUMENEY, Election Officer, Prokopyevsk. From TRUD, February 2, 1951.

2. A Soviet Engineer

IN 1944, EVGENIA DMITRIEVNA GALUSHKINA, a railwayman's daughter, graduated from the Institute and received a diploma in metallurgical engineering. A gifted specialist, she was sent to do scientific research work in Transbaikalia, and was then invited to lecture on steel metallurgy at the Institute.

Immediately after the end of the Patriotic War, however, Evgenia Dmitrievna asked to be sent to the Sulin Metallurgical Works, one of the oldest undertakings in the south, which had suffered great destruction under the fascist occupation.

This energetic young engineer has now been working in our collective

for over five years.

A special new base for processing scrap iron has been set up at our works. It has powerful cranes by means of which the charge is loaded direct into the moulds going to the open-hearth plant. The mixers' work has thus been greatly eased. A large share of the credit for this innovation is due to Comrade Galushkina, our senior mechanisation engineer.

Once when an open-hearth furnace was being repaired, Evgenia Dmitrievna noticed that materials were being passed by hand. She suggested setting up transporters to supply firebricks, and this was done. On another occasion, while watching the work of steelhands, she concluded that it was unsatisfactory to divert the steel conduit with crowbars after hand snelting, and a special winch was set up to mechanise this process.

Evgenia Dmitrievna keeps a careful lookout for any new development in the metallurgical industry. A group of our Stakhanovites once visited the Dneprodzerzhinsk and other metallurgical plants. After their return to Krasny Sulin, Evgenia Dmitrievna had a long talk with them. She inquired in particular about the method employed in the rolling mills of these factories for ejecting rods from heating furnaces. On her initiative a blue-print was made, and eventually ejectors were set up in the rolling mill of our own works.

Front-rank Soviet engineer Comrade Galushkina is also well known to our workers as an active social worker. All this is why the collective nominated her at its election meeting as its candidate for election to the Supreme Soviet of the RSFSR.

-N. ZAYAKINA, Election Officer and Works Committee Deputy Chairman at the Sulin Metallurgical Works. From TRUD, February 16, 1951.

3. In the Common Ranks

THE PEOPLE of Latvia have nominated as their candidates for election to the Supreme Soviet of the Republic the leading personalities in industry, socialist agriculture, science, literature and art. Among them is the writer ARVID GRIGULIS.

The reactionary elements that dominated bourgeois Latvia hated this joung writer with his wide and varied learning. A higher education diploma gave him only very limited opportunities in life. For several years Grigulis had to work in the post office. When Soviet power was established in Latvia in 1940, the young writer—with Andrey Upit, Vilis Latsis, Anna Sakse, and other revolutionary writers—became its warrior and poet. His volumes of verse In the Dugout and In the Storm, and his volume of short stories Through Fire and Water, published during the Patriotic War, vividly reflect the courage and endurance of the soldiers of Latvia fighting in the Soviet Army.

After the Patriotic War, while devoting much of his energy to teaching at the Latvian State University, Grigulis wrote several topical plays which had an important part in the education of the Republic's workers.

In his play To What Haven? he exposed Latvia's bourgeois nationalists. In 1940-41 they had gone temporarily into hiding, but during the fascist occupation they became open traitors to their people. When the Soviet Army returned to Latvia victorious in 1945, these enemies of the people and of Soviet power sought a haven where they might escape retribution and punishment. These wretches are today in the service of the incendiaries of a new war

No less topical was Grigulis' second play, Garnetery Makes History, a just and timely exposure of the kulaks and speculators who were trying to halt the victorious march of Socialism in the Latvian village.

His play *Porcelain and Clay*, which was successfully staged in Moscow and won a Stalin prize, has achieved great popularity and is now being performed in the People's Democracies.

The political development of the industrial workers and the skilled technicians, the communists' leading role in the factories, the blending together of personal and public interests in socialist society, the friendship

between the Latvian and the Russian peoples, are the questions Grigulis

brings out in this play.

In his latest play, Fire in the Flint, he describes the new collective life in the Latvian village. His short story The Third Brigade, which has been translated into Russian, is devoted to the same subject.

Arvid Grigulis is actively helping to acquaint the Latvian reader with the finest Russian and Soviet classics. He has translated *The Lay of Igor* into Latvian and has compiled an *Anthology of Modern Russian Verse* presenting the work of the best poets of the Soviet era in Latvian translation.

This talented writer is at present collecting material for a novel on events in Latvia in 1917-18. He is also writing a monograph on Stalin prize-winner Andrey Upit, the outstanding popular poet of the Latvian

SSR, and is planning a new play.

Grigulis is known to the public not only as a writer but also as an active public figure, scholar and historian. This is why the Svettsiemsk State Farm collective has for the second time unanimously nominated him as its candidate for election to the Supreme Soviet of the Latvian SSR.

--MEINHARD RUDZITIS (Riga). From TRUD, February 10, 1951.

4. A Woman of the Stalin Era

WHEN ANTONINA ALEXEYEVNA PERMYAKOVA was asked to consent to stand for election to the Supreme Soviet of the Karelo-Finn SSR, she could hardly believe her ears. She did not think they could possibly mean her. But she, a chemical engineer at the Onega Metallurgical Works, was the one that the electors of Kalinin district No. 18 wanted.

-Me? What have I done to deserve such confidence? she asked, astounded.

Antonina Alexeyevna is head of the works laboratory. It is her job to analyse cast iron, bronze and steel, work demanding great thoroughness. Antonina Alexeyevna accurately assesses the quality of the metal and estimated the state of the s

mates its durability, strength and utility for a given purpose.

The voters of Kalinin election district No. 18 are well acquainted with Antonina Alexeyevna's life story. A poor peasant's daughter, she became an engineer and has been working at the Onega plant since 1934. On her straight path from Voyekhta village in the Yaroslav region to the laboratory of the largest metallurgical works in the Karelo-Finn SSR, she has given evidence of qualities greatly esteemed by the Soviet people, without suspecting that she was doing anything at all distinguished. The voters who spoke at the election meeting briefly outlined these qualities of hers: without any speechifying about heroism, said they, Antonina Alexeyevna behaves with heroism in ordinary daily life.

She learned to know hardship early in life, when Alexei Permyakov's hungry family went wandering all over Russia. In 1914, at the outbreak of the imperialist war, Antonina's father was called up, and her mother went to work in a *kulak* family. Only on her father's return from the front and the beginning of the new life in our country was her lost childhood restored and her real youth begun. Her family moved to Petrozavodsk. Here Antonina graduated from secondary school and entered the ranks of the Lenin Komsomol. It was not easy to pass the Chemistry School's entrance examinations for Leningrad State University, but she did it. After graduating from the University she chose Petrozavodsk as her place of work.

As an engineer specialising in the production of synthetic rubber, she had to learn all about the casting of steel, iron and non-ferrous metals, with which she was still unfamiliar. Before her arrival there had been no chemists at the works, and many re-agents were lacking. It was in these conditions

that she tackled the study and inculcation of new casting methods. As a result of persevering work and long research she mastered the methods of analysing the lesion factors in high-quality steel.

One summer evening Antonina Permyakova received her travel warrant to a rest home. She had only to pack her things, and in the morning she would be leaving. But war broke out; instead of going to a rest home she had to see her husband off for the front. That was on June 22, 1941. Soon after, she learned that her husband, Vassili Filipovich Zhmurin, had been killed in action.

The enemy was approaching the city. Antonina Alexeyevna longed to go to the front to avenge her husband's death; but the country wanted other things of her. She had to go far into the rear. In a certain Siberian town there had been before the war a small factory manufacturing woodcutting implements. In August 1941 the construction of a new plant was begun on the site. To work in the laboratory it was first necessary to build one. Chemical engineer Antonina Permyakova became first a boilerman, then a plasterer, then a glazier, and in 1941 the October celebrations were particularly festive—the plant's small collective had just dispatched to the front its first consignment of ammunition.

May 9, 1945, marked a new stage in Antonina Alexeyevna's life. Hearing that the Government of the Karelo-Finn SSR had decided to reconstruct the Onega works, which had been destroyed by the enemy, she felt it her duty to be there.

The Onega workers returning from the front and from far in the rear saw the factory buildings standing empty. Antonina Alexeyevna, with all the factory's manual and clerical workers, helped to clear the yard of brick and metal rubble before the opening of the laboratory. In the normal course of events, production in a factory's shops does not begin until building is finished. The Onega workers refused to stick to the old rule. In the foundry and in the machine and other shops, machines were put into operation and production plans intended for normal conditions began to be carried out before work on the roofs was finished. And today Antonina Alexeyevna is working in a well-equipped new laboratory.

—ANTTI TIMONEN (Petrozavodsk). From TRUD, February 10, 1951.

5. Half a Century at the Lathe

ON SUNDAY morning a deputation of young voters came to see SERGEUS PORFIRIEVICH TARNAUSKAS. They asked him to come and tell them about his past and present life and his work as a deputy to the Supreme Soviet of the Lithuanian SSR.

Now he is mounting the small rostrum of the club. His hair and moustache are grey. He is over sixty. But his face is youthful and his eyes lively, he is tall, erect and slender, his movements are vigorous and assured. What would the comrades like to know? His life story? Nothing interesting in that. His father worked as a locksmith for more than fifty years. He himself did six years at school and went to the factory as an apprentice at fourteen. He spent three years learning the job and then became a turner.

Why did it take him so long to become a turner? Tarnauskas grins. An apprentice got less pay for a whole day than a turner for an hour, so why should the boss hurry himself? Young people have an easier time now. He has taught the turner's trade to sixteen men himself, and none of them spent more than a few months learning it.

What else was he to say? He has been working for nearly half a century as a turner at the Metallas factory. What used to be the chief events? If

there were no orders, workers got the sack; the boss often used to cut wages, knowing there were always unemployed workers waiting at the gate.

Sergeus Porfirievich Tarnauskas is now head of the technical checking section at the Metallas factory. As soon as he was appointed he launched a vigorous campaign against waste and managed to cut it down radically.

The Metallas is a small factory. Or rather it has come to seem small against the overall scale of Soviet industry; in bourgeois Lithuania it was considered a large undertaking. The factory has now been expanded and improved. Production has gone up 50 to 100 per cent, and all labour-consuming processes have been mechanised. The lathes work quicker; the foundry can cope with work that used to be beyond its powers. At Kaunas there is a bridge being built. "All its ironwork is ours," says Tarnauskas, "and if you've been to the Vilnius stadium you may have noticed the castiron railings; we made those too."

In 1947 Sergeus Porfirievich was accepted as a candidate for Party membership, and in 1949 as a Party member. He is now secretary of the Party organisation at the works.

The Vaylokaytis brothers, the former owners of the Metallas, used to make a profit of 83,000 lits a month; there were three of them, a banker a priest and a drunkard. The workers remember them now with a smile. The banker ran the factory, the priest prayed and the drunkard spent his share of the proceeds at the pub and used to turn up at the factory in the mornings to get money from the cashier for his morning-after pick-me-up. Idler and drunkard as he was, even he was a respected man in bourgeois Lithuania. But for a worker engaged in "mechanical" and "uncreative" labour, what respect could there be?

There is a locksmith, Valminskas, working in the Metallas factory. He has been working there for about fifteen years. He was there under the Vaylokaytises: he worked; and of course he never dreamt that he, a mere locksmith, might invent or rationalise anything. Then the Soviets came, and the life-giving breath of the socialist system touched Valminskas the locksmith. His work became creative. The factory had for years been producing clamps for harrows; it had never before entered Valminskas' head to intervene in the process, to reflect on it, simplify and alter it. Now he proposed a radical change in the process, and he received immediate support. The locksmith's proposal brought the factory in a saving of more than 10,000 roubles in a single year. Valminskas realised there was unlimited scope for creative initiative: he soon made a fresh proposal; and the factory saved another 5,000 roubles in a year. Valminskas invented a special combined stamp for making lock frames; this stamp saved the factory another 5,000 roubles.

It is not only the economy achieved through the locksmith's proposals that matters: what also matters is that a man's mind has opened and expanded, that reserves of talent which would formerly have gone unnoticed have been tapped in him.

The locksmith Rynkus and the technologist Ventslovas are engaged on the construction of a stamp-cutting lathe to replace four men. The shop foreman, Dovgal, is making bold changes in the technology of production; and the factory—which always used to exceed its quota of zinc supplies—is now using less than the quota.

Young Soviet people who do not remember capitalism think this normal and natural; they cannot imagine anything else to be possible. But to Tarnauskas, Valminskas, Rynkus—who so well remember capitalism—it is remarkable, extraordinary, a beautiful dream come true.

Four years ago Comrade Tarnauskas, a turner at the Metallas factory, became a deputy to the Supreme Soviet of the Lithuanian Republic. In these

four years he has gathered experience of public work; he has shown the voters his worth, and if they trusted him four years ago they trust him all the more today. On Soviet Lithuania's tenth anniversary, Sergeus Porfirievich was awarded the Order of Lenin.

There are now new elections to the Supreme Soviet of the Lithuanian Republic, and the Kaunas workers have again nominated Tarnauskas as their candidate.

-EVGENY RYSS. From TRUD, February 16, 1951.

6. People's Artist

FOURTEEN and a half years ago the honorary title of *People's Artist of the USSR* was created for the leading personalities in Soviet art. Among those who then received this title was the Kazakh singer *KULYASH BAISEITOVA*, then aged only twenty-five.

A little earlier, during the Kazakh festival in Moscow, Kulyash had appeared on the stage of the Bolshoi Theatre annexe, playing the part of Kyz-Zhibek, the Silken Maiden, in Evgeny Brussilovsky's opera of that name. The unusual timbre of the singer's lovely voice had greatly impressed the audience; and though no one in the theatre knew Kulyash's native tongue, they all understood the feelings and experiences of Kyz-Zhibek, the Kazakh girl fighting for her happiness.

Kulyash Baiseitova's artistry was then already well known in the Kazakh SSR. The great Kazakh poet Dzhambul had called her "the Kazakhstan nightingale"

Kulyash was brought up in the household of Dzhasyn Beisov, an Alma-Ata shoemaker. Her early years were spent first at home and then in an experimental demonstration school. Here she decided to devote her life to teaching; but as things turned out, her life developed quite differently.

She used to devote all her spare time to club activities. During one of her performances, actors from the theatre recently founded in Kazakhstan noticed the unknown schoolgirl's great natural talent. There was a great shortage of actresses in the Kazakh theatre company. (The popular comic actor Serke Kozhamkulov, now a People's Artist of the Republic, recalls that in some plays he had to play two women's parts as well as his own.) Kulyash was offered a place in the company.

She suffered torments of indecision before mounting the stage of a professional theatre. It was not easy to give up her dream of becoming a teacher; and she was well aware that an actress's life is no easy one. But a consuming passion for the theatre came to possess Kulyash's heart. She became a bit player, then a small part player, and at last a full-fledged actress.

The company's performance of the musical drama Ayman Sholpan marked the birth of an operatic theatre in Kazakhstan. Kulyash (who played the title part) and her friends Kanabek Baiseitov, Manarbek Yerzhanov, Kurmanbek Dzhandarbekov, and others, formed the nucleus of the Republic's first opera company. No one who has been to Alma-Ata can have failed to admire the majestic building of the Abay State Opera and Ballet Theatre, a splendid edifice (built in sunny Kazakhstan shortly before the outbreak of the Patriotic War) with the Trans-Ilian Ala-Tau mountains in the background.

Long ago the great Kazakh poet Abay translated Tatyana's letter, from Evgeny Onegin, into Kazakh. Tatyana's letter became a Kazakh popular song. The first to create the character of Tatyana on the Kazakhstan operatic stage was Kulyash Baiseitova.

Come into the theatre: the orchestra is being conducted today by the principal native conductor, Gaziz Dugashev. In the half-dark of the auditorium Tatyana's famous aria rings out; Kulyash's voice is heard by students and by workers, by cattle-farmers up in Alma-Ata for a conference, and by cultivators from near-by collective farms. They all know Kulyash Baiseitova from her many stage parts: she is Maro in the Georgian composer Paliashvili's opera Daissi, she is Chio-Chio-San in Puccini's Madam Butterfly, she is the inspired Sara—a part she created—in Birzhan and Sara, by the young Kazakh composer Mukan Tulebayev. (For her performance in this last she won a Stalin prize.)

Kulyash Baiseitova is not just a singer. The People's Artist is also active in public life. She may be found on duty at the City Council, at trade union meetings, in factories and in Ministries. A member of the Alma-Ata City Council and of the Supreme Soviet of the Kazakh Republic, she devotes a

great deal of her time to the workers' welfare.

She receives hundreds of letters from all over the Republic; the voters tell her of their sorrows and joys, and ask her for help and advice. Young men and girls wanting to go on the stage tell her of their first successes and are sure she will proffer friendly advice. People's Artist and People's Deputy, she has a warm word of sympathy for everyone.

Last year Kulyash was selected as a delegate to the Second World Peace Congress. Now the Abay State Opera and Ballet Theatre collective and the Kazakh State Conservatory collective have for the third time nominated Kulyash Baiseitova as their candidate for election to the Supreme Soviet of the Kazakh SSR.

—A. ROZANOV (Alma-Ata). From IZVESTIA, February 17, 1951.

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LINGUISTICS AND THE SOVIET WRITER

By Henry Gifford

THE THEORIES Of N. Y. Marr, who died seventeen years ago, were known until recently in the Soviet Union as "the new linguistic doctrine". An alternative name for his system was "the Japhetic theory". If we chose to pun on the celebrated critical term coined by Ruskin, today we might call

it the Japhetic fallacy.

Marr, who was half Scot and half Georgian, began his career with the study of the Caucasian languages. This led to an interest in all those languages of his own country and Europe which are not comprised in the Indo-European—or as he termed it "Prometheid"—group. Eventually Marr came to form a system of linguistics which he opposed radically to the comparative method used by other philologists. He derived all languages of man from four elements. He believed that language is a superstructure which may be compared with the political and legal institutions of a society, its philosophy and religion. When the economic basis of that society changes, the superstructure will change too, language along with ideology. Change in language as in society is brought about by revolutionary leaps, from one stage to another that is qualitatively different. So when a society passes from the capitalist to the socialist order, its language too will cease to be the old capitalist language and will change into something new, a proletarian language. For all language is determined by class, and each class forms its own language. Marr had no use for conventional grammar, and neglected morphology; indeed he looked forward to the day when, like the language of gesture which had preceded it, the spoken language would become obsolete and give way to direct communication by thought.

It will be obvious that Marr's system had at least superficially been brought into line with Marxism. In 1931 there was founded in Leningrad the Institute of Language and Thought to propagate Marr's theories. Marr died in 1934, but his followers—the most influential of whom is Academician I. I. Meshchaninov, director of the Institute till it was closed last year—spread the "new linguistic doctrine" from this commanding position. They put forward large claims for it. "N. Y. Marr in his works"—they wrote in 1936—"goes far beyond the limits of purely linguistic research: his theory is of enormous significance also to the history of material culture, and to literary scholarship, and philosophy and the history of religion, and the history of art. . . ." However, the theory was open to various interpretations on some of its cardinal points. Even the followers of Marr differed among themselves and from him, and on May 9, 1950, Pravda was thrown open to a discussion which lasted for a number of weeks and allowed both sides the followers of Marr and his opponents—to express their views on the value of the "new linguistic doctrine". Finally in July Pravda published a statement by Stalin, in answer to certain questions by young philologists. This, together with amplifying statements on detailed points, disposed once and for all of the "new linguistic doctrine" as an adjunct to Marxism. The Institute of Language and Thought has been absorbed into a new Institute of Philology, the director of which is Meshchaninov's most determined opponent, Academician V. V. Vinogradov. The new Institute has thirty-one members on its academic council: the third name among these is I. I. Meshchaninov.

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The declaration by Stalin may be briefly summed up. He dismisses the idea that language is a superstructure, which must be changed every time that the material basis of society is changed. There is no such thing as a class language, although there may be species of class dialect or jargon, which use the grammatical system and the basic vocabulary of the national language. All classes are served by the same language, which has been formed and perfected by the people over thousands of years and is bound up with the rise, development and decay of society itself. The Russian of Pushkin's day, which served a feudal and later a capitalist society, is still fully adequate to the needs of a socialist society. Marr's theory has nothing in common with Marxism. Its exponents had been able to maintain it only by suppressing criticism. Stalin compared the dictatorship of the "new linguistic doctrine" with the regime of Arakcheyev, the iron-handed minister of Alexander I. "No science", he observes, "can develop and flourish without the clash of opinions, without freedom of criticism."

The significance of all this for Soviet linguistics is plain enough. A long article by Vinogradov in the Bulletin of the Academy of Sciences (Literature and Language Section) last autumn set out the immediate tasks of the new Institute. In the first place there will be a return to the comparative method, which, for all its faults, Stalin has declared better than Marr's "four-element analysis". There will be collective works on basic problems of philology, the correct use of the comparative method, and the function of grammar. There will also be a joint study by philologists and literary scholars on "Language and Literature".

It is this last problem with which I am concerned here. The January 1951 issue of Novy Mir (New World) has an article by E. Surkov on Question's of Philology and Soviet Literature, which shows how wrong linguistic ideas have encouraged false trails in writing. Marr's theory can be linked up quite plainly with certain manifestations in Soviet literature during the last thirty years. Marr had maintained that the working-class after the revolution must "refashion the literary language that had flourished before October, which in content does not answer the needs of socialism in construction, and in form finds itself in contradiction with the thought of the proletarian labouring masses". So the Futurists of the twenties claimed to be 'linguistic engineers" or "builders" who must create for the new class in power a "language of the street" to replace the old, outworn language of the capitalist class. But Marr looked even farther ahead. He asserted that one day language would shed its "material envelope" and dispense entirely with sounds. Thought would find immediate expression without language. If Marr distrusted the adequacy of language to express thought, there is a parallel in the poetry of Pasternak and Khlebnikov, which often seeks incommunicable effects. The poet Aseyev long since was under the spell of Formalism, and wrote a novel in which he forecast the kind of utterly unintelligible jargon wherein the men of a future society would converse, "having passed through the stage of mechanical languages".

However, such fantasies have long been left behind by Aseyev himself and by Soviet literature as a whole. Nobody is concerned today with the theories of the Futurists, Formalists, and the so-called "meaningless" or "nonsense" school. But the idea that proletarian culture had nothing in common with pre-revolutionary culture, and must therefore develop its own language, was active in other ways. It led writers, particularly those who came from the country, to reject the language of Pushkin and Tolstoy and to complicate their own style with provincialisms and rare dialect words. Marr had encouraged this explicitly when he wrote that the only means of constructing language would be by "embracing first of all the speech of the so-called lower ranks of the people, the peasants and the broad masses".

This gave rise to innumerable books written in the "language" of Siberia or the Kuban cossacks, of the backwoods and the primitive village. A novelist or a poet carefully chose dialect words and crudities, or, like Zoshchenko and Ilf and Petrov, the slang of the *petit-bourgeois*. One school even expressed itself through Odessan thieves' slang or "cant". The Constructivist group, in a programme drawn up for it by K. Zelinsky, called for "the introduction of jargons (regional, national, scientific, professional, and so on)". Such innovations defeated their own object. The reader who lived in another province, or practised a different trade, found himself at a loss. Such crude naturalism resulted in an impoverishment of the language. The wealth and clarity of the Russian language as used by Pushkin, Turgenev, Tolstoy, and in their own day by Maxim Gorky, were lost to these writers.

Gorky himself clearly did not sympathise with this direction of Marr's thought. In the thirties, during the last years of his life, he expressed his views more than once on this very question—the language of the Soviet writer. A. Shishkina. in the December 1950 issue of Zvezda (Star)—the organ of the Union of Soviet Writers—devotes an article to a survey of Gorky's views. Language for Gorky was "the basic material of every book, especially in belles lettres". (The Russian term has a wider significance than this: we might say "creative writing" or even "literature".) "Literature", he observes elsewhere, "is the art of plastic expression by means of words. One should write so that the reader sees what is described in words as something tangible." Gorky required of a writer's language that it should be expressive, colourful and accurate.

He insisted that Soviet writers should study the "classics". Language should be intelligible to all, and capable of expressing all things. "From a work of art," he said, "whose aim is to express the implications of social life latent in facts, with all their significance, fullness and clarity, we demand sure, accurate language and carefully selected words. In just such a language did the 'classics' write, gradually perfecting it in the course of centuries." First of all the classics was "the incomparable Alexander Pushkin, a man of quite astonishing genius". He mentioned also Tolstoy, Gogol, Leskov, Turgenev, and among contemporary writers Bunin, Chekhov and Prishvin. Tolstoy he praised for his plastic quality, his power of depicting things in relief; Chekhov for gentleness and precision; Leskov for his extraordinary range of colloquial Russian.

What Gorky particularly disliked was senseless or showy innovation. He condemned the poet Andrey Bely for certain banal formations which were meant to save Bely from the use of more ordinary words. This sprang from a desire to be different. He considered Bely "a writer who is entirely unconscious of his responsibility to the reader".

Language is made by the people, and it is to the people that great writers have always turned. "Pushkin valued highly the language of the 'Moscow wafer-bakers', and learnt from his nurse Arina Rodionovna. That very remarkable expert in colloquial speech, Leskov, also learnt from his nurse, a soldier's wife." It will not do to study the classics alone: "Popular songs, popular tales, popular legends—generally all popular oral art, which is properly called folk-lore—this should be our constant material." But the writer must choose from what he finds there. "The division of language into the literary and the popular simply means that we have, so to speak, 'raw' language and that worked up by the masters. The first to understand this so well was Pushkin. He first showed how the spoken material of the people should be used, how it should be worked up."

Gorky rejected the use of local dialects, because a particular word understood in one district will be unintelligible to those living in the other 800 districts. "Local expressions, 'provincialisms', very rarely enrich the literary

language, more often they choke it by bringing in words that are not characteristic and not intelligible." Some promising writers of his own day had not realised this, and Gorky pointed out their mistakes. The true example of how to indicate characteristic speech was to be found in Tolstoy's Fruits of Enlightenment, where a peasant's speech is made entirely authentic by the use of one happily chosen dialect word.

Gorky, then, demanded from every writer the utmost attention to style. "The struggle for purity, for exactness of meaning, for keenness of language, is the struggle for a cultural weapon. The keener the weapon and the more

accurately guided, the more victorious."

What is the position today? On January 17 and 18, 1951, the Moscow writers held a discussion on Literature and Language. A. Tarasenkov made an introductory speech, which appears to have been on very similar lines to an article by him printed in Novy Mir for February 1951. After stressing the importance of a writer's language to the Soviet reader, who turns to him not only for a depiction of life, but often to gain mastery of language itself, Tarasenkov indicates the main lessons of Gorky. He finds there are many Soviet writers who have worked in the classic tradition of language, But there are others, like the poets Selvinsky and Kirsanov, who still betray an occasional weakness for Futurism. Selvinsky wrote not so long ago that he did not care for the jambic measures of Pushkin, which had for him "something of the glitter of epaulettes"; but the poet adds, "the people, alas, prefer iambics". But the abuse of old words, archaisms, can be just as harmful as that of innovations. Tarasenkov cites V. Yazvitsky's novel Ivan the Third Sovereign of All Russia, and S. Marich's Northern Lights (on the contemporaries of Pushkin). These, and new novels by Olga Forsh and others, he condemns for pedantically old-fashioned dialogue. On the other hand, Alexey Tolstoy's Peter the First gave a shining example of how to convey the simple popular language of another epoch (which is, of course. basically that of our own). Tarasenkov was not satisfied with the style of various contemporaries, which he found often obscure and difficult. Even Sholokhov, despite numerous revisions of Quiet Flows the Don, has allowed too many dialect words to stand in its first two volumes, and the chapters so far published of his new novel, They Died for their Country, are not free from the same fault. Tarasenkov finds that many writers of today are often verbose and clumsy. Not enough attention is paid to style. But he has high praise for Gladkov, who has disciplined himself by long labour to write his descriptions with "a certain majestic flow and simplicity", and for the poet M. Isakovsky, whose verses, very simple in structure and phrasing, bring out "the wealth of the Russian language, its wonderful grace, its flexibility". He concludes by calling upon Soviet writers not to neglect the questions of form and language.

The discussion that followed was too various to be recorded here. Not all those present agreed with Tarasenkov in his strictures upon individual writers. At the close of the discussion A. Fadeyev summed up. (It is perhaps worth noting that Tarasenkov had found fault with Fadeyev for cumbrous

writing in some passages of his novels.)

Fadeyev had hoped that some of the philologists present would be able to enlighten them on various points. But the discussion had shown all too clearly that analysis of formal problems had become unfamiliar. There had been few concrete examples given of good or bad writing.

While he believed that Soviet authors had enriched the Russian language and the languages of the non-Russian peoples—and a study should be made of how far they had done so—Fadeyev contrasted the many good novels with the few really well-written ones. His own choice for the best novel of 1950, Nikolayeva's Harvest, was spoilt in places by the clichés of

newspaper language. Such blemishes arose from the fact that the younger generation had not been taught Russian grammar. A second reason was the old preference for regional dialect words. (It must be remembered that dialects in Russia though fairly uniform are hardier than in Britain.) Fadeyev agreed that Sholokhov had been guilty of provincialisms in Quiet Flows the Don. Too many Soviet writers had come to literature by way of the newspaper. This led to dull and conventional writing: it was not often that writing expressed itself through clear visual images.

"Literature is labour, and a complicated labour. It demands practice and the accumulation of mastery." A writer should spare no pains on perfecting his language. The classics, and Gorky in particular, had always studied the language of the people and their folk-lore. He described how Leo Tolstoy had taken words from the arch-priest Avvakum (d. 1681) and from Dal, who wrote of the Cossacks, and how for twenty years he had compiled a notebook of peasant proverbs and turns of speech. In the same way he analysed grammatical forms in the minutest detail. The same devotion to words should be expected today. From their meeting Fadeyev drew the conclusion that "they must study the way to clarity and simplicity in the field of art, especially in the linguistic field. But clarity and simplicity by no means take away

what is individual in the speech of every one of us".

The new development in Soviet linguistics, as has been shown all too sketchily in this article, will have far-reaching consequences for Soviet literature. It seems to be widely recognised that contemporary writers in the USSR have not studied the problem of style with the care of their great predecessors—the wonderful flair and intelligence of Pushkin, the desperately sincere searching of Tolstoy. The whole attitude of Marr and his school revealed a strange blindness to the national heritage. By no means all writers, of course, had been affected by the philologists. But now that the mirage of an entirely new proletarian language, in its turn to evaporate into the intense inane of pure thought, has vanished from the horizon, their way will be easier. There is still a great deal to be learned from Gorky, and of all the classic writers it is Pushkin who once again proves himself the presiding genius of Russian literature.

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* A rather intemperate plea for archaisms.

† A reply to Yugov, with interesting notes on Nekrasov's use of peasant language.

‡ Further reply to Yugov.

BOOK REVIEWS

ORIGINS OF THE SOVIET STATE

THE purpose of Professor Carr's History of Soviet Russia is to present the history of the political, social and economic order which emerged from the October Revolution. The work, which is to consist of two parts (the first of which alone will include three volumes), was first planned on a more modest scale, but the original frame-work proved "almost ludicrously inadequate to the magnitude of Lenin's achievement and its influence on the future'' (page 5). The wealth and complexity of the material (so often underrated by our historians) was such that what had been intended as an introductory chapter on Soviet society in Lenin's time became a vast attempt to reconstruct the 1917-1923 period of the Revolution. One volume is to deal with the economic order, another with Soviet foreign relations, while the book under review*—the first of the series -covers the rise of the Party, the early constitutional development of the Soviet State, and Stalin's policy for the non-Russian nationalities of the former Romanov Empire.

Professor Carr discusses the historical and political background, the birth and the philosophical basis of Bolshevism, the per-sonality and leadership of Lenin, the nature of the Bolshevik movement, and the differences of theory and practice that distinguished the Bolsheviks from the Mensheviks. There follows an outline of the 1905 Revolution and after, the foundation of the Party and its stand during the first world war. Other chapters are devoted to the tense months from February to October 1917, to an analysis of the two Revolutions of 1917, the early stages of Soviet power, the constitution of the RSFSR, the dictatorship of the proletariat, and the position and role of the Party in the above developments and its relations with the State. The panorama of the internal situation is interspersed with the activities of various opposition elements, counter-revolutionary manifestations, and the introduction of extraordinary measures in defence of the new regime, and is rounded off with a note on Lenin's theory of the State. The final section portrays the "dispersal and reunion" of the non-Russian nationalities, and includes the Bolshevik policy of self-determination and its fundamental difference from bourgeois doctrine, the handicaps at first imposed

*THE BOLSHEVIK REVOLUTION. By E. H. Carr. (Macmillan, 25s.) on it by hostile influences, and its eventual successful application in the various Soviet Republics and Territories. The book concludes with an examination of Stalin's first Constitution for the USSR.

Professor Carr has brought to his task a genuine interest, painstaking research, and his formidable scholarship. He has studied the history of the forerunners of October, the Marxist classics (notably Lenin and Stalin), the proceedings of Party and Soviet congresses, and political trends and tendencies in Russia. He has familiarised himself with an abundance of material, much of which—being in Russian—is not easily accessible to the British student. Where our libraries suffer from gaps, he has drawn on the richer resources of those in the United States. As a result, Professor Carr has been able to acquire a knowledge of his subject in many ways rare among scholars in the West.

This makes all the more remarkable a number of important conclusions he has been led to draw. Among these is the not ungrudging recognition that the Bolshevik line was correct and inevitable. He assesses the absence in Russia of conditions "in which a bourgeois-democratic regime could flourish" (page 41), and sheds some light on the danger of counter-revolution in the autumn of 1917. He shows up the "failure . . . and futility" of Menshevism (page 41), and the early and irresponsible manifestations, inside the Party, of what later became the Trotsky-Zinoviev-Bukharin opposition. And he draws a brilliant picture of Lenin's long and herculean struggle for the Marxist theory and practice of the Revolution. "In the roll of Lenin's genius, one of the largest entries would have to be devoted to his greatness as a political strategist and as a political tactician. His far-sightedness in building up impregnable positions in advance was matched by an uncanny instinct which told him where and when and how to strike or to hold back. If, however, Lenin was a great revolutionary-perhaps the greatest of all timehis genius was far more constructive than destructive ' (footnote, page 25). There emerges no less clearly from Professor Carr's narrative the fact of Stalin's very close association with Lenin in theory and practice, in underground work, in the evolution of the Party, and in the whole development of the Soviet State.

Professor Carr writes consciously and deliberately as "an Englishman" without a "Marxist background". This, of course, determines the nature of his whole approach. It may account, for instance, for the lack of reference to the masses who

played such an immense role before, during and after the Revolution, and whose movements were for Lenin the infallible political barometer. It must account for the total omission of the economic situation and the international scene from the present book. We are promised an exhaustive discussion of both subjects in the volumes to come: but a full understanding of the Party decisions and State measures requires their integration in the economic pattern that faced the Bolsheviks, while a great many of the Bolsheviks' political actions (and those of the counterrevolutionary opposition no less) become completely intelligible only in relation to the impact on Russian affairs of foreign powers and influences. The professor's philosophical premises may also help to explain his indifference to the internal contradictions which were destroying the Provisional Government and its radical mem-bers, his discovery of "Marxist dilemmas" where there are none (e.g. page 127), or assertions like "Bolshevism succeeded to a vacant throne '' (page 25). Given the growing intensity of Russian reaction in 1917, and the outside encouragement it was re-ceiving, the "throne", even while slipping from under the seat of the liberal bourgeoisie and petty bourgeoisie, was never "vacant". Kornilov and confrères were already reaching out for it. And it was entirely due to Lenin's and Stalin's command of strategy and tactics (vide the April and August Conferences of the Party) that Russia did not become a fascist State, with all the consequences this would have entailed for Europe and the world. In fact, Professor Carr himself, in his chapter February to October, gives an appraisal of the Bolshevik role in this respect.

Considerations of space preclude an adequate review of this important work. Readers will look forward to the development of these themes in the volumes to follow. Meanwhile, one cannot but remark on Professor Carr's achievement in keeping the cold war out of his study.

W.G.

BYRONISM IN RUSSIA

"BYRON", says Mr. Gifford*, "penetrated deeper into Russia than into any country in the world"; and this book is, among many other things, a subtle and exciting study of the transplanting of Byronism into the Russian soil and its transformation therein. What is Byronism and how did it arise? Fundamentally it is that second phase in the Romantic movement which grew up in the aftermath of the French Revolution. The carlier

Romantics were first thrilled and then disillusioned by that revolution: the second generation missed the thrill and grew up into the disillusion. More than that, the best of them began to understand why the early hopes had been disappointed, and to see that a second revolution, a revolution of a new kind, was both possible and necessary. This change began in England with Blake; but Blake remained unknown till the close of the nineteenth century, and it was Shelley and above all Byron who became recognised internationally as the public representatives of the new outlook.

Yet the understanding was never perfect and its expression was still less so, since the class which made the second revolution a possibility did not yet fully exist even in England. And so we have the series of Byronic heroes, cynical, world-weary young men, composed equally of nobility and blackguardism, with whose troubles it is not now easy to sympathise fully. Byronism was by its nature something of an affectation, but Byron was always greater than any of his works, and it was Byron, the Byron who defended the Luddites, castigated the war makers and worked for the liberation of Greece and Italy, rather than the literary Byronic cult, who influenced so profoundly a whole generation of young Russian writers from Pushkin to Turgenev.

"The world of Griboyedov and Pushkin", as Mr. Gifford says, "was very different from that of Hugo and Lamartine. The only political activity of the age led to a rising in 1825 and the execution or exile of its authors. Those who sympathised with the rebels were left stranded in growing darkness. . . . It was the conditions of Russian life that made them superfluous. They lived on the fruits of serfdom which they abhorred; no careers were open to them except the public service or the army. . . . The gentry were remote from the people. They might well ask with Griboyedov: 'By what black magic have we become aliens among our own? . . . A people of the same blood, our people is estranged from us, and for ever.'"

The problem in Russia was then insoluble since, while the best minds could see already that a second revolution was needed, the objective facts were that the first had not yet taken place, nor were the forces needed to make it possible even visible vet. The writers were like men in prison, whose writings could be read by no one but themselves and their gaolers, while between both gaolers and prisoners and the whole world outside there was a more than Chinese wall. There was nothing to be done but to suffer and to make a virtue out of one's sufferings. So the Russian Byronic heroes, Chatsky, Onegin, Pechorin and the rest, were, in a sense, real heroes, but their heroism was of a kind which separated them from humanity and could end in nothing but self-contempt and defeat. And, finally, the contradiction produced by this separation of writer from

^{*}THE HERO OF HIS TIME: A Theme in Russian Literature. By Henry Cifford. (Edward Arnold, 12s. 6d.)

people was resolved in the only way possible when heroism turned into its opposite and Goncharov showed that the Byronic hero was no more than an unfledged Oblomov.

Oblomov was not published till 1859, and it marks a stage in Russia which in Western Europe had been reached a decade earlier. By that time a new life was stirring everywhere. Mr. Gifford's last chapters record this stirring, the search and the battle for a new kind of hero and a new kind of heroism, a heroism which turns outwards and for this reason is not self-destructive. It is not possible, in a short review, to follow him along this course or to do proper justice to the various merits of his book: I can only say that he has been able, taking a brilliant and still too little known group of writers as his illustration, to add substantially to our understanding not only of these writers and their time but of the whole question of the interrelation of life and literature.

A. L. MORTON.

SOVIET GEOGRAPHY

UNQUESTIONABLY, Berg's Natural Regions of the USSR* is the most important work on the subject which has appeared in English for very many years. This book and Economic Geography of the USSR† have been made available by the translation project of the American Council of Learned Societies, which was organised in 1944 with the aid of the Rockefeller Foundation. The aim of the project is excellent, and these books make a timely appearance in this country. Hitherto, the study of the geography of the USSR has been greatly handicapped by the notable lack of authoritative accounts in English of both the physical and human environments. No area of comparable size and importance has been so neglected.

For any serious study of the geography of Russia it has always been necessary for the student to read his sources in the original. Now two further important works have been made available to those not in the happy position of reading Russian easily. No one is better able to undertake such a systematic account of the physical landscape of the Soviet Union than L. S. Berg, who at the age of seventy-five has a wealth of first-hand experience behind him. It is interesting to reflect that as early as 1895 he investigated the ichthyological fauna of

the Dniester Basin. His first interest in zoology is reflected in some of his references to the aquatic fauna of the inland seas and lakes. This study of fish life in river and lake took him on lengthy journeys throughout the country, and this initial interest naturally led Berg towards the ancillary studies of geomorphology, climatology and geology. As a result, his writings bear the hallmark of the master of the whole field of physical geography, and this account of the natural regions is comprehensive, systematic and so obviously based on an intimate knowledge of the terrain—a feature frequently lacking in books which are dependent on secondary material.

The first half of the book describes the lowland natural regions from north to south, and the other half gives a full account of the mountains of the USSR. Each region is treated in the same systematic fashion; boundaries, general characteristics, climate, relief, soils and vegetation, fauna. Considerable detail is included, and in all cases where the original Russian name is used for landforms or plants and animals the translator has taken great pains to find the English equivalent and to include the taxonomic name. The text is interspersed with twentythree maps, and particular attention should be drawn to those showing the limits of certain trees and the trend-lines of the important ranges in the Altai and in Eastern Siberia. The geological history of some of these areas is here made clear for the first time. Some eighty-one photographs enhance this edition, taken in the main from the German source Vegetationsbilder, since it was impossible to reproduce those in the original Russian edition. Most of them are interesting and help the understanding of the text.

The usual explanation of the origin of loess, originally given by Richtofen towards the end of last century, is challenged by Berg from evidence of the pollen of water-lilies which he has found in the loess-like clay loams of the Ob basin. In his opinion "loess may be formed from the most varied silts, rich in carbonates, as a result of processes of weathering and soil formation under dry climatic conditions". This, and his explanation of the relationship of the Olekma-Baikal range to the Stanovoi system, are but two examples of the originality of Berg's work. The specific descriptions are new, but the terminology is universal and will be welcomed by British geographers. It may perhaps be regretted that, in some cases, more emphasis could not have been given to the geomorphology, and the use of the metric units will call for some mental adjustment. A large map showing surface configuration, as given in Economic Geography of the USSR, could easily have been included by the publishers.

Berg's work has the added and accidental virtue that little heated controversy will

^{*}NATURAL REGIONS OF THE USSR. By L. S. Berg. (Macmillan, New York, \$10 or £3 15s.)

[†]ECONOMIC GEOGRAPHY OF THE USSR. By S. S. Balzak, V. F. Vasyutin & Y. G. Feigin. (Macmillan, New York, \$10 or £3 15s.)

result from his account of the physical setting. The reactions may be different when Economic Geography of the USSR is the object of study. The authors grasp the nettle at the outset and state quite categorically in their introduction that "Economic geography not only describes the distribution of production, but by means of analysis and generalisation of concrete material studies those specific principles according to which this distribution occurs in a particular country".

This book was written in 1940 to serve as a text-book for higher educational institutions, and so, necessarily, it is rather like a glimpse into the past. This is one inherent difficulty, but even so the economic development of Russia before the opening of World War 2 is still but dimly perceived by many geography students and the "man in the street" alike.

One-sixth of the book is occupied by a general description of the natural resources implicit in the geographic pattern. This is followed by the distribution of the past and present productive forces of the country as a whole, and the distribution of population, industry, agriculture and transport. The task is enormous even within the compass of a book of this size. The range covers the production of nickel and the distribution of the bread-baking industries. Nevertheless, it has been possible for the authors to include such interesting details as the production of synthetic rubber, Sk-B, which "is obtained through polymerisation of butadiene", which in turn is derived from alcohol distilled from potatoes.

Less than justice seems to have been given to some important topics; for example, the coal industry receives a meagre six pages, and one would have welcomed an account of the location of mines in relation to the surface relief, and the disposition of the measures, the thickness of seams and the methods used in underground gasification. Some of these points were perhaps included in the second part of this book, which was not translated.

The third of these recently published geographies is likewise a translation, carried out in this case by Laborde, of *The Soviet Union*, by Georges Jorré*. This compares neither in scholarship nor in authority with the above works, since it is essentially a summary of existing material. It adds but little to our knowledge of the Soviet Union. Very little information is given about changes in the cultural landscape since 1939. This omission cannot be entirely excused by the news blackout, and it is as relevant to the main theme as the references to the comparable period after the 1914-18 war, which receives adequate treatment.

Generalisations about the national character of any people are always open to question, and it seems rather pointless to describe, in the present tense, the Russian who "appeared until recently" as one who "combines an undercurrent of thoughtful melancholy with a gay tem-perament, great kindness, infinite sympathy towards pain and sin with amazing possi-bilities of cruelty" (p. 70). The fact that Fig. 15 on p. 92 is undated detracts from its usefulness, since several changes which have occurred during the last few years in the political divisions are not recorded. Tuva ASSR should read Tuva AR. Similarly, both Khakassk ASSR and Oirot ASSR are autonomous regions or oblasts, and the latter was renamed Gorno-Altai AR in January 1948. Other misstatements occur, for the production of coal in the Donbas in 1913 is usually given as 25.29 million tons and not 12.9 million tons (p. 144), and the total coal production in 1913 was 29.1 million tons.

It would appear that if translation of foreign works is to be undertaken in this particular field it would be advisable to go to the original sources.

G.B.G.

MEN OF STEEL

STEEL AND SLAG* tells the story of the tempering of Soviet people in the furnace of World War 2. This is a really inspiring novel about working people in a socialist society, who have confidence in themselves and in each other, giving freely for the socialist society in which they believe. Called upon to interrupt their labour for the building of socialism in order to defend what has already been accomplished, the workers in a Donbas steel plant reorganise for war, adjusting themselves to the needs of war and to meet the threat of Nazi invasion. They are given an assignment for the manufacture of a new alloy steel to be rolled into armour-plate for tanks, and speedily master the new technique, at the same time stepping up production in de-fence of their Soviet land.

Socialist emulation inspired to even greater endeavour, but the approaching battle front brought new tests. Would this bring out flaws in the structure of the collective? "There are so many different people in the shop, each with his own twists of character, not all of which come to the surface in the ordinary daily work." The body of workers are compared to the steel ingot: "The surface of the steel is smooth and lustrous. Only etching can bring out the dark stains against the background of close-welded crystals. These are

^{*}THE SOVIET UNION. By Georges Jorré. (Longmans, Green & Co., £1 1s.)

^{*}STEEL AND SLAG. By Vladimir Popov. (Foreign Languages Publishing House, Moscow. 3s.)

slag inclusions, and it sometimes happens that steel passing the tests for hardness and tensile strength fails to come through this check for homogeneity of structure."

Working on, despite bombs and strafing, the workers withstood the test. But what would happen when work should halt? "When the rhythmic swing of labour, organised by man and in its turn organising man, should cease? How would the workers react? Would not many of them disappear as the bees scatter from a plundered hive?" These thoughts are expressed while steel is produced under fire from the air and as bombing thins out the ranks of the workers in the plant. In course of time any distinction between front and rear disappears. Young communists go off to the front while those left redouble their efforts and at the same time prepare to blow up the plant before evacuation. They are troubled how to do this so as to prevent the plant being used by the Nazis, having in mind its ultimate restoration. Akin to the steel they made, they never had a thought but of victory and of restoring the plant they were planning to destroy.

The time comes for evacuation: "It was a great unparalleled migration of plants and factories, towns and villages. The whole Soviet Union seemed to be on wheels, moving part east, part west, controlled by definite rules and principles." Almost simultaneously the plant is blown up as the Nazis enter the town, but not all are able to join the eastward migration. A very few, representing the dark stain on the background of "close-welded crystals", desert to the enemy, minor flaws to be dealt with by the workers who preserve homogeneity of structure" behind the enemy lines, and who play a vital role in destroying the Nazi interlopers.

While the workers who migrate to the Urals join the workers there in organising production, and in so doing organise themselves, those left behind also organise to prevent the reconstruction of the plant for its temporary Nazi owners. Socialist emulation reaches new heights of achievement in the Urals, producing for the Red Army, and in the Donbas, to prevent production for the Nazis. There are many thrilling episodes in this great Soviet novel inspired by a picture of Stalin's work "as a vast heat of steel" and of Stalin himself "as the most supreme of steclmen", who "directs the intricate processes that our entire people fuse into an armoured steel of unparalleled strength and hardness", giving confidence "that the day is near when all the Hitlerite scum, the slag of humanity, will be skimmed and cast away to oblivion".

A novel to be read, revealing as it does a spirit unconquerable, as the Nazis learned so painfully, and as others will learn who dare show their "pigs' snouts" in the socialist garden of the Soviet people.

J. GARDNER.

CHEKHOY AND THE ENGLISH READER

A NEW edition of Chekhov's stories* is very welcome, but it is somewhat disap-pointing that this should be merely a reprint, unrevised and uncorrected, of the translation made by Constance Garnett thirty-five years ago. Gratitude for her pioneer effort should not blind us to her shortcomings as a translator. It is only fair to say that Chekhov is very difficult to translate. What gives life and colour to his simplest stories and turns such a trifle as "Polinka" into a poignant little tragedy is the idiomatic and individually typical speech of his characters, which demands from the translator a close familiarity both with colloquial Russian and with all the details of Russian life. Constance Garnett's approach is sensitive and her knowledge of Russian fair, but these qualities are not sufficient to do full justice to Chekhov. She is at her best when dealing with the conversations and discussions of the intelligentsia, but elsewhere the dialogue in her version becomes too often flat and colourless. For the idioms she knows she finds happy parallels, but when she fails to recognise them as such the English reader is left to find out for himself that "a position worse than a governor's stands for "a pretty desperate situation", and that "a girl of light behaviour" is a euphemism for "a tart". It is an insufficient acquaintance with the details of Russian life that makes Constance Garnett commit such errors as to call a skating rink a toboggan run, to speak of the alien harmonica instead of the national accordion and to give the quaint picture of a man bringing in the samovar dressed in reefer jacket and breeches when in fact he was wearing an ordinary coat and trousers. In many instances the dictionary (a dangerous tool in inexpert hands) has misled or failed her, and then we have gingerbread for peppermint cookies, rolls instead of doughnuts, a corncrake instead of a quail, and so on. All these errors, perhaps small in themselves, are far too numerous not to affect the translation as a whole. They show once more that no really satisfactory and faithful translation can be obtained without the co-operation of two translators, one English and one Russian. Had Constance Garnett had a Russian to advise her, he could have told her that the mysterious bashi-buzuk is simply a cut-throat, and that by rendering von Koren's macaque by "Japanese monkey" she was confusing two abusive terms current during the Russo-Japanese war (apes would be the best English

^{*}THE DUEL (and other stories) and THE DARLING (and other stories). By Anton Tchehov [Chekhov]. Translated from the Russian by Constance Garnett. (Chatto & Windus, 7s. 6d. each.)

equivalent). As for the English side of Constance Garnett's translation, one might have wished perhaps for a lighter touch where a too rigid adherence to the Russian construction has led to such awkward phrases as anyone who begins to think in a new way of their own", and for less antiquated terms than "Faculty of Juris-prudence", "flesh for the cannon", "pilules", and so on. More discrimination in the choice of words to suit the tonc of the context would also have been welcome. As it is the almost automatic use of "boredom", "gloomy", "mournful", and the like, tends to give the English reader a distorted impression of the emotional and mental attitudes of Chekhov's characters. This may be partly why much of what is written in this country to "explain" Chekhov seems so superfluous to the Russian reader. Opinions may differ as to what Chekhov's reaction to the Revolution would have been, but who can doubt that were Chekhov to come to life today he would be pleased to find a Michurin experimental nursery in his Cherry Orchard and to see the Three Sisters going off to Moscow to study midwifery or bookkeeping?

In 1954 half a century will have passed since the death of Chekhov. What more fitting tribute to his memory than an entirely new and up-to-date translation of his works? Should this, for some technical or other reasons, prove impossible, then let us hope at least that before any new edition of the existing translation is attempted a drastic Anglo-Russian revision will eliminate the more glaring discrepancies and bring it up to the standard of translations from other European languages.

T. SHEBUNINA.

SCIENTIFIC RUSSIAN

THIS BOOK* gives a very adequate treatment of scientific Russian and may be confidently recommended for self-study as well as for use in a class. The author, before taking up his present professorship of modern languages at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, was well known as a chemist, and he brings his expert scientific knowledge to bear in the illustrative material. This includes some very lucid graded reading passages, which will appeal strongly to many students, though there is little material on subjects of direct interest to the biologist.

In his foreword the author refers to the prevailing tendency to underrate Soviet scientific achievements. The existence of this outlook may partly explain why such a few scientists attempt to acquire a know-

ledge of Russian, but no doubt many, although they are conscious of the major rôle played by the Soviet Union in many fields and realise the need for making the results of Soviet scientific work more generally available, nevertheless approach the Russian language with some diffidence, regarding it as a difficult, highly exotic language, clothed in mysterious hiero-glyphs. Under Professor Perry's guidance, however, their fears will be rapidly dispelled. The early lessons are based on international scientific terms, and through these not only the alphabet but many formative prefixes will be readily assimilated. Russian roots are introduced gradually, and the grammar is developed on more or less traditional lines, word-forms and constructions not normally met in scientific writings being excluded. The numerous sentences with interlinear translation form a useful feature.

The treatment is on the whole excellent, though it may be criticised in detail. Thus, in the reviewer's experience, the peculiarities in accidence of the present tense are more readily grasped when systematised under three basic sets of endings, which affect and are themselves affected by a preceding consonant according to certain rules. Certain categories of words might have received closer attention, e.g. certain verbal nouns, typified by kislovka and otzhim, types that are very characteristic of technical literature; also adjectives with the form of the present participle passive, but derived from perfective verbs, thus in sentences on pp. 456-457 such an adjective, e.g. obyasnimy, could with advantage replace a group of three words (as they stand, these sentences are rather artificial and would scarcely be used in practice). The Russian text is accented throughout. This is a good feature, but errors in accentuation are rather frequent. However, the book contains very few errors that detract from its general usefulness. Among those noted are a few cases of verbs of imperfective aspect that should be reimperfective aspect that should be replaced by the perfective, e.g. pokazyvaetsya on p. 259 should be replaced by pokazhetsya, and sozdavat' on p. 257 by sozdat'. Mirovoi on p. 405 should read mirnoi, or be translated by "world."

It is suggested that a future edition should include the scheme of written characters and might also include some information, on the pronunciation of

information on the pronunciation chemical symbols and mathematical expres-

A. E. STUBBS.

THIRTY-SIX MILLION **SCHOOLCHILDREN**

A FEW WEEKS ago we read that 13 per cent of the Soviet Budget for 1951 is being allocated for education. The recent book-

^{*}SCIENTIFIC RUSSIAN. By J. W. Perry. New York, (Interscience Publishers,\$7.50.)

let* by Professor Medinsky gives a picture of the educational system, and an insight into the ways in which thousands of millions of roubles are spent every year.

He reminds us that compulsory elementary education was introduced only in 1930, and tells us of the phenomenal strides that have since been made, particularly in the Eastern Republics. He also reminds us that 82,000 schools were destroyed during the war, as well as thousands of clubs and libraries.

How about the system and content of education? The methods of pre-school education are only touched upon, and a separate booklet dealing with this would be welcome. Two features of the general system are important. Firstly the curriculum of the seven-year school is identical with that of the first seven classes of the secondary (ten-year) school, so that all pupils receive the same general education whatever their subsequent careers. There is no "screening" into different types of school at ten. Secondly, the flexibility of the system enables a man or woman to return for further education after some years in farm or factory.

Subjects for the fifth, sixth and seventh grades include algebra, geometry, botany. zoology, chemistry, physics, world history, geography and a foreign language. Logic and psychology have recently been introduced in some secondary schools. It is interesting to note the absence of handwork and cookery. These are catered for by out-of-school classes or clubs.

The author unfortunately only touches on the question of co-education, and indicates that the "experiment" of separate schools is "proving satisfactory." My impression when talking to teachers in Georgia and Kharkov last year was that opinion was divided.†

Also interesting to the English reader is that thousands of young worker-students whose schooling was cut short by the war are now receiving secondary education in part-time schools organised at factories and in rural districts. Parent-teacher associations are active in all schools.

His brief account of the many out-of-school activities (Pioneer Palaces, children's railways and so on) available for children, and of the thousands of magnificently equipped factory and district workers' clubs, indicates that the Soviet Government realises that the education of a people is not something confined to the hours children spend in school.

*PUBLIC EDUCATION IN THE USSR. By Y. N. Medinsky. (Foreign Languages Publishing House, Moscow, 9d.)

†See Anglo-Soviet Journal XI, 3 (Autumn 1950), and SCR duplicated document Education Section Bulletin 4 (A Disturbing Question, by Professor V. Kolbanovsky).

Professor Medinksy has done a valuable job in making available to the English reader this detailed yet condensed account. It merits a wide sale.

S. ELTON.

PROGRESS IN AGRICULTURE

THIS BOOK* is well worth reading, as it gives a good idea of the progress made in agriculture in Russia since collectivisation.

The Lenin Kolkhoz is twenty-five years old, and I have no doubt the production from the 3,000 hectares (about 7,500 acres) is vastly greater than when owned privately and the soil merely scratched by the peasants, although by Western European standards production is still low. Part of the explanation would be seasonal, the total fluctuating from 25,000 centners down to 15,000, and can probably only be remedied by irrigation, which is contemplated.

The photographs are good and impressive. Stock is being kept in increasing numbers, but there is plenty of room for them. What strikes an English farmer is that only about a third of the land is under grain, and not much fertiliser is used, though I think this will increase.

Also seven hundred able-bodied workers, nearly ten to the hundred acres, seems a very large and unnecessary labour-force, having regard to the total production. We are not told what acreage of potatoes or sugar-beet (if any) is grown: this is what

takes labour.

A brickyard has been started and, of course, they erect their own buildings. But when I read that Pavel Zyuzin—who lost the use of one arm during the war—"did the work of four" during the harvest, "earning a hundred and thirteen work-day units within the month", I think the units, like the servant-girl's baby, are "only little ones".

On the whole the translation is good; but what do the terms travopolye and chernozem on page 58 mean? Also, it would have been easier for some readers if poods had been turned into pounds, litres into pints (or gallons), centners into cwts., and hectares into acres.

Altogether, I recommend the book to readers with a critical turn of mind. Immense progress has been made, but much remains to be done—this, of course, the writers admit. I like the vision and courage of these pioneers, and have no doubt what-

^{*}IN FOREIGN LANDS AND AT HOME. By M. Kondrashova and I. Tyurin. (Foreign Languages Publishing House, Moscow. 9d.)

[†]Travopolye: literally "grass field"; the use of grass as a crop in crop rotations. chernozem: black earth. (See also Agriculture Catches Up, Anglo-Soviet Journal XI, 2. Summer 1950.)

ever that without collectivisation the revolution would have failed.

The obvious propaganda in the book proves that there is still considerable hankering after the old and discredited regime; but an elementary knowledge of psychology should tell us that you cannot make people good by laws, and that there will be for a long time elements of selfishness everyhere. Altruism is a plant of slow growth, and we shall have to give "incentives" for a long time yet.

 $A.\ H.\ BROWN.$

FROM LABOURER TO ADMINISTRATOR

SOCIAL consciousness, adequate facilities to satisfy the determination to study, with opportunities to experiment, are among the essentials for the development of a Stakhanovite movement.

In his Notes of a Stakhanovite* Illarion Yankin tells how he lived and worked in the country until he was a young man. He had not the slightest idea of large-scale industry, yet ultimately he became a mining engineer, and manager of an iron ore mine.

Reading about his experiences after his arrival in the Urals in 1934 is as exciting as a novel—but with a difference, for he proves that every Soviet worker has the opportunity to become a leader in his chosen sphere in the arts or industry.

Yankin had only three years' schooling before leaving his native village to seek "adventure" in the iron ore mine. He took advantage of all the facilities available for study, and in a few years was leading a team of workers experimenting on new methods he had developed. He tells how some of the older miners resented the newcomer and his modern ideas, and how he held back, in order to remain on friendly terms with them.

At Communist Party meetings (although he was not a member), he learnt that criticism was essential to the development of the Stakhanovite movement, and after consultation with his friends Yankin had an article published in *Pravda*. This stimulated a lengthy discussion, and severe criticism of managements who had failed to keep abreast with new ideas and techniques. He was given an award—an M.I. automobile.

Yankin's story shows that when workers are not exploited for private gain they regard labour with pride, as the basis of

*NOTES OF A STAKHANOVITE. By Illarion Yankin. (Foreign Languages Publishing House, Moscow, 9d.) society, and consequently take an active interest in the management of industry.

Given these conditions, his story proves that a man is never too old to learn even such subjects as advanced mathematics and chemistry. Yankin is a Director of the Pyshma Mine Administration, and many of his former fellow workers hold similar positions.

It was only when he had these accomplishments behind him that he applied for membership of the Communist Party, for previously, he says, "it always seemed to me that I didn't measure up to the standards of a Communist".

LESLIE SMITH.

SOVIET CINEMA

THIS BOOK* is well worth reading, as it is drawn from the publicity material of Soviet cultural institutions, film marketing organisations and the press. Its range is indicated by the chapter headings: the industry, technical achievements, film exhibition, Moscow's cinemas, the studios of the national Republics, the film college, successes at international festivals; in respect of content, modern themes in the cinema, Stalin, the Soviet woman, the Soviet workers and the Soviet farmers portrayed in the cinema, documentary, educational, scientific and specialised children's films.

As is to be expected, in view of the source of the material, this is informative—and often even rather naively informative—rather than critical. In particular, the remarks about non-Soviet cinema and the non-Soviet world generally, for purposes of comparison, though sound at heart, are sadly over-simplified. Neither in the USSR nor anywhere else are great littérateurs or great political analysts employed in writing film publicity.

Nevertheless the material is extremely up-to-date. Nowhere else is a great deal of it to be found in English between single covers, and the book should therefore be useful to all who write about, or like to read about, its subject. Furthermore, the basic, profound and significant lessons latent in study of the Soviet cinema, namely the social influences underlying specialities of structure of the industry, and the moral and humanistic background to the content of its product are set out in outlines which, however broad or superficial, are firm and unmistakable.

I.M.

*THE SOVIET CINEMATOGRAPHY. (People's Publishing House, Bombay, 2 rupees. 22 pages of illustrations.)

THE THREE SISTERS

at the Aldwych Theatre, London

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IT WOULD be difficult to imagine a finer cast for Chekhov's *Three Sisters* than the one assembled for Peter Ashmore's production at the Aldwych Theatre. Sir Ralph Richardson is *Vershinin*; Celia Johnson, Margaret Leighton and Renee Asherson are respectively *Olga*, *Masha* and *Irina*; Diana Churchill plays *Natasha Ivanova*; Walter Hudd is *Kuligin*, and Harcourt Williams *Chebutikin*.

This does not work out so well in practice, however. Chekhov, of all dramatists, is the one with whom time-saving methods of star type-casting—effective enough elsewhere—count for nothing. In a Chekhov play all parts are interdependent and therefore of equal importance; and his characterisation, as Stanislavsky so painfully discovered, is built up from within and not from the patching together of external peculiarities.

This production, therefore, succeeds at those points where the play most closely resembles a normal West End domestic drama; and those actors in it are most successful who, by sheer chance, have stage personalities most

closely resembling Chekhov's intentions.

In Acts One and Two, with some dozen or more equally important characters on the stage at the same time, the effect was not of artistic unity but rather of a series of spotlighted vignettes all but unrelated to each other. Acts Three and Four were more successful because—being built up of short scenes between two or three characters at a time—they are more like the sort of thing our actors and producers are familiar with.

Of the main players Renee Asherson was the most convincing, because she looked and sounded a consistently plausible Irina. Celia Johnson made little out of her part of Olga. Margaret Leighton, though too well-bred and sophisticated in appearance for Masha, created a great effect with her hysterical breakdown in the last act—a truly remarkable piece of technical bravura. Richardson's Vershinin was the least convincing of all; it was quite impossible to judge from his performance what the dramatist's intentions were, so vague an impression did the actor make.

In fact, the most genuine piece of character-building came not from the stars at all but from Robert Beaumont as *Touzenbach*—a further proof, if one were needed, of the failure of the star system as applied to Chekhov.

What is most remarkable is that in spite of all the shortcomings something of the power and beauty of the play should still come over the footlights. There could be no greater tribute to the power of Chekhov as a dramatist; for current West End methods are all against him. Russians—to whom his characters and their mode of expression are familiar—still need months of painstaking rehearsal before they feel competent to appear in public in a Chekhov play. We shall never feel anything like the full impact of Chekhov until British actors and producers—to whom his mood is so unfamiliar and who must speak the language of stiff and unnatural translation—can spare at least the same length of time to prepare themselves.

Until such time, Peter Ashmore's production is as painstaking and

honest an attempt as we are likely to see.

FRANK JACKSON.

S C R ACTIVITIES

A NUMBER of interesting public activities have taken place during the past quarter, and the wide field the Society covers is exemplified in the following list of lectures and meetings held in London since those mentioned in the last issue of the issue of the **JOURNAL**

April 4: Film show, AdventuresinBokhara (in association with the London Film Club).

15: Lecture-recital, The Balalaika, by Hilda Cotton.

22: Annual General Meeting of the Film Section, followed showing of Brave People.

24: Annual General Meeting of the

Education Section.

25: Film show, The Distant Bride and Ivan the Terrible (in association with the London Film Club).

29: Playreading, The Hawthorn Grove, by Alexander Korneichuk; directed by Betty Linton.

May 3: Recital of new Soviet music on tape-recordings.

17: Soviet Labour Law: lecture by Andrew Rothstein for the Auglo-Soviet Law Association.

20: Annual General Meeting of the Music followed Section, Glinka Recital: Olga Slobodskaya and John Wills.

2: Recital of new Soviet music on lune tape-recordings: special gramme for young people.

5: Mr. V. Mayevsky on A Soviet School from the headmaster's point of view.

21: Soviet Science in Action, 1951: lecture by Professor J. D. Bernal,

During the same period, a number of similar functions were arranged by local groups of SCR members in Bradford, Manchester and York, and arrangements were made for the formation of similar groups in Oxford and Cambridge, while many members, particularly those of the November 1950 delegation to the USSR, lectured to other organisations.

The Society continues to play a vital role in the interchange of information with Soviet specialists and in the preparation of material from Russian-language sources for members and others. In addition to making arrangements for a number of Soviet visitors to meet British colleagues, the Society is organising a summer delegation of scientists to visit the USSR. Material is still being assembled, with the co-operation of the Joint Four Secondary Associations and the National Union of Teachers, for an exhibition on English education to go to USSR. The Vice-Chairman of the Foreign Commission of the Union of Soviet

Writers has acknowledged in appreciative terms the work of the Translators' Group on Soviet translations into English. The Science Section is assisting the Library of the Academy of Sciences of the USSR over the exchange of publications with learned societies and institutions in Britain.

Duplicated bulletins issued during the quarter have included the CHESS TION's four bulletins (32-35) on the World Chess Championship, and bulletins on a number of special subjects from the ARCHITECTURE, EDUCATION, FILM and MUSIC SECTIONS. A full list is given opposite.

BOOKS RECEIVED

CRIME AND PUNISHMENT, By F. Dostoevsky. (Heinemann, 10s. 6d.) FILM FORM. By S. Eisenstein. (Dennis

Dobson, 18s. 6d.) SOVIETS IN CENTRAL ASIA. By W. P. and Z. K. Coates. (Lawrence Wishart, 25s.)

THE CHANGING MAP OF ASIA. Ed. G. East and O. H. K. Spate. (Methuen, 25s.)

THE SOVIET STATE AND ITS INCEPTION. By Harry Best. (Philosophical Library, New York, \$6.00.)

THIS WAR BUSINESS. By Arthur Guy Enock. (Bodley Head. 18s.)

WHAT'S ALL THIS ABOUT GENETICS? By Rona Hurst. (Watts and Co., Thrift

Books, 1s.)
WOMEN AND COMMUNISM. (Extracts from Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin.) (Lawrence and Wishart, 3s. 6d.)

SOVIET COLONIAL AND BRITISH SYSTEMS. By Kathleen Stahl. (Faber and Faber, 12s. 6d.)

INVITATION TO MOSCOW. By Z. Stypulkowski. (Thames and Hudson, 15s.) RUSSIA BY DAYLIGHT. By E. Crankshaw. (Michael Joseph, 15s.)

JOURNALS AND PAMPHLETS RECEIVED

MASSES AND MAINSTREAM, February, March, April, May 1951. (New Century, 35 cents.

NEGOTIATION NOT APPEASEMENT. By Kenneth Ingram. (National Peace $\widetilde{Council}$, 4d.)

POLITICAL AFFAIRS, February 1951.

New Century, 25 cents.)
POLITICAL EDUCATION. By Michael

Oakeshott. (Bowes and Bowes, 2s. 6d.) PRIMER ON DEMOCRACY. By G. F. Larsen, (Published by the author from California, Unpriced.)

THE FIVE-YEAR PLAN OF THE USSR. (Soviet News, 1d.)

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<u> અને દુધના દુ</u>

SCR Exhibition Department

The Exhibition Department and Photograph Library supplies visual aids of all kinds—photographs, maps, charts, lantern slides—and large and small exhibitions.

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THE TRADE UNIONS OF THE USSR. THIRTY-THIRD ANNIVER-SARY OF THE USSR. LIFE AND WORK OF THE DONBAS MINERS. BUDYONNY COLLECTIVE FARM (UKRAINE). MACHINE AND TRACTOR STATIONS IN THE USSR. THE SOVIET REPUBLICS (sets of forty photographs each, 12in. x 16in.). (Average size of photographs, 16in. x 20in.).

Sets of Slides

(as used in Soviet schools) include

1. MICHURIN: the history of his work and the development of Soviet plant-breeding. 2. The VEGETATIVE HYBRIDISATION OF PLANTS. 3. CENTRAL ASIA. 4. THE HISTORY OF MOSCOW.

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